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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# DESERTION.

by

Edmund Bohun

Ex dono Authoris.

1689

LICENSED,

April 10. 1689.

*James Fraſer.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE DESERTION, OR An Account of all the Publick Affairs IN ENGLAND,

From the beginning of *September* 1688. to the Twefth of *February* following.

WITH

# AN ANSWER

To a Piece call'd

The DESERTION Discussed:

In a LETTER to a Country Gentleman.

The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged.

*By a Person of Quality.*

*Provida severitate cavisti, ne fundata legibus Civitas, eversa legibus videretur.* C. Plin. Pan. Trajan. Cap. XXXIV.

*London*, Printed for Rich. Chiswell at the *Rose* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church Yard. MDCLXXXIX.

(1689)

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# TO THE READER.

I *Am perſwaded, that thoſe of the Church of* England, *who now ſeem diſcontented at the Preſent State of Affairs in* England, *are miſtaken in the matter of Fact; and that they do imagine the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Nation might have been ſecured to us, and our Poſterity, by other, and thoſe more legal Methods.*

*Now if this Conceit of theirs were true, their Diſſatisfaction would not be wholly unreaſonable; but to me, who have conſidered every Step of this Great Revolution with the utmoſt Attention of Mind, it ſeems altogether falſe and groundleſs.*

*But whether they or I are miſtaken, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the matter of Fact ſhould be truly and fairly ſtated; which cannot be done, but by repreſenting in one View all the Papers which paſſed on both ſides, with the Actions which hapned, the preſent State of Affairs at home and abroad, when the Revolution began, and the temper of Mens Minds in all the Occurrences as they hapned: And this I have endeavoured to do with all the Brevity, Perſpicuity, and Fidelity which was poſſible.*

*As I am the firſt that have attempted it, ſo it is not impoſſible there may be ſome Miſtakes, Omiſſions, or Errors;*

*rors; but there is not one wilful Error, and I will rectifie any involuntary Stumble I may have made, upon the first Advice of it.*

*To have fully cleared this Question, it was perhaps necessary that I should have begun with the Year* 1660. *and the Restitution of* Charles *the Second, or at least at his Death; but this would have taken too much time to have presently gone about it; and if I find this is well received, and encouraged, I will in a convenient time do it; especially if I may have the liberty of the Council-Book, and the Paper-Office, and such other helps as are necessary.*

*And in the mean time, I conceive this short Abstract of the Publick printed Papers, is sufficient to convince any Man, that the* Popish Party *were resolved we should be Rebels, (as they now account us) or Slaves; and His late Majesty was so far prevailed upon by them, that He chose rather to Desert His* Throne, *than to lose all the Possibilities of Establishing an Absolute Soveraignty over the Nation, and* Popery *with it.*

*I suppose it is not pretended in* England, *His late Majesty forfeited his Right to Govern by His Misgovernment; but that the sense of it prevail'd upon Him rather to throw up the Government, than to concur with an* English *Free-Parliament in all that was needful to re-establish our* Laws, Liberties *and* Religion; *and this is a proper legal* Abdication, *as it is distinguished from a Voluntary* Resignation *on the one hand, and a Violent* Deposition *on the other.*

*He*

*He was bound to Govern us according to Law, and we were not bound to submit to any other than a legal Government; but He would not do the one, and saw He could not force us to submit to the other, and therefore deliberately relinquished the* Throne, *and withdrew His Person and Seals, dissolving (as much as He could) the whole Frame of our Government.*

*The Reader may observe, tho' He gave Reasons why He withdrew the second time, He never gave any why He went away at first; nor can any be assigned (as I verily believe) but that which I have expressed.*

*Now if this be the true state of this great Affair, then we were legally discharged of our Allegiance to* James *the Second, the Eleventh of* December *last past; and His Return afterwards, which was forced and involuntary, could have no Influence upon us; and if He were now to be restored again, He must be re-crowned and sworn* de novo, *as* Henry *the Sixth was after He was restored by the Earl of* Warwick.

*There may possibly be some few Men so superlatively Loyal, that rather than they would not still be under the Government of* James *the Second, they would throw up all the* English *Liberties and Priviledges, and submit to an absolute and unlimited Sovereignty, either out of Scruple of Conscience, Vanity, or Humour: now to these I have nothing to say, but that if they are willing to be* Slaves, *they may: but it is unreasonable that they should enslave all the rest of the Nation too; and as the Num-*

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*ber is not great, so I am perswaded (if Patience and gentle Methods are used) these Men will in a short time be convinced by their own Interest, and acquiesce at least, if they do not heartily joyn with the rest in the Defence of the present Government.*

*As to the small Piece which I have answered, I cannot but admire at the* Encomiums *have been given it; I hope there is nothing in it worth regarding, which I have not fairly answered; at least I am sure it is very answerable, it being wholly founded on Mistakes, either as to the matter of Fact, or the Laws of* England: *But be this as it will, I submit it to the Reader to judge between us.*

April 6th. 1689.

## POST SCRIPT.

A Second Impression of this History being intended, I Ordered this following Advertisement to be Pubished in in the *Continuation of the Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland, *Numb.* 32. *Tuesday June* the 25. and again *Saturday June* 29.

*The first Impression of* the History of the Desertion, *&c. being sold off, and another forthwith intended; the Author desires that all Gentlemen, who have observed any Defect or Mistake in the same, would be pleased to give an Account of it in a Letter to Mr.* Chiswell *at the* Rose *and* Crown *in St.* Paul's *Church-yard, to the end it may be corrected or supplied.*

And I have accordingly in this Edition, taken care to supply all the Defects, and amend all the Mistakes which have been observed by my self or others, as far as I have been able to find out the truth, which is all I can do for the Present.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE DESERTION, AND An ANSWER to a DISCOURSE, Intitled, *The Desertion discus'd*: In a Letter to a Country Gentleman.

## *The* INTRODUCTION.

THE late Tranſactions of that part of our Nation, which have eſpouſed the Intereſts and Principles of the Church of *Rome*, are ſo full of Wonder, that I perſwade my ſelf, Poſterity will look upon the Story of the laſt ten years, as a meer *Romance*; and will very hardly believe ſo ſmall a Party durſt attempt, or ſo great a Body would ever ſo long ſuffer what we have born with a *Stoical* Patience, I had almoſt ſaid *Inſenſibility*. But then this *Aſſurance* was not owing either to their Courage, or their Cunning, but a ſtrong Perſwaſion, that how ill ſoever they uſed us of the Church of *England*, the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance* would keep us in awe; and if the other part of the Proteſtants ſhould offer to reſcue the Nation out of their *Claws*, our Zeal for the *Monarchy*, and the *Royal Family* would have the ſame effect it had in the *Monmouth* Invaſion, and end in the Ruin of them.

However, to prevent the worſt, they reſolved to keep up a numerous Army to ſuppreſs betimes any Party that might ſtir in the Nation; and to fix them the more to their Intereſt, they not only exempted the Souldiers from the Civil Juriſdiction, but ſuffer'd them to out-rage and injure whom they pleaſed almoſt without reſtraint.

To divide us yet more, they procured a *Toleration* for the *Diſſenters*, and made ſuch fulſom Applications to them, and they again returned the Complement in ſuch *Rhetorical Addreſſes*, that

it was verily thought the Church of *England* Party would very easily have been given up for a Sacrifice to the *kind, sincere, well meaning Catholicks.*

But our Dissenters were not so easily wheedled into a forgetfulness of what they had so lately suffered; and altho' they gave the *Fathers* many good words, and fair Promises, yet when they had opportunity, they gave such bold hints of their Resolution to defeat the Expectations of these Gentlemen, that I protest I wondred at nothing more than to see them so far infatuated, as to believe they should ever reap any Advantage from our *Non-cons.*

They were however ingaged, and therefore they must go on, be the Event what it would; and finding it would be a work of time; and that it was not possible *James* II. should live to see it effected, and that after his death the Succession of the then *Princess of Orange* would put an end to all this *Babel* of *Confusion* they had with so much Labour and Hazard erected. They resolved in the next place to take care for a *Catholick Successor* to finish this great Work. And in truth it was a Project worthy of such bold Undertakers, if they could have as easily deluded the *English Nation*, as they frequently do those who have a mighty fondness for Miracles, and had rather be deceived than find out the *Legerdemains* of the Priesthood: But then this was so highly improbable, that I wonder they ever entred into it; and that none of the Fathers have yet told us, that we ought not to think it possible for them to be such Fools as to attempt to impose in a matter of that Consequence upon so learned, so curious, so distrustful and fierce a Nation as this of *England* is: I assure them this Argument would have more force than all the *Depositions* they have printed in that case, and engage many to espouse their Quarrel out of pure *Piquantry.*

How far they might yet have gone, and what would in the end have been the consequence of this *formal Plot* upon our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, is known to none but God: They looked upon the Protestant or British Interest in *Ireland* as wholly at their Mercy: *Scotland* was in such a condition, that nothing could be begun there, which would not terminate in the ruin of the Undertakers: And *England* was so divided in Interest and Religion, that they expected a considerable Body of the Protestants would lend them their assistance to ruine the rest, and therefore call'd them their Scaffolds. *France*, the most Potent of our Neigh-

Neighbours, was apparently engag'd in the same Design: *Denmark* and *Sweden* engaged against each other in the Quarrel of the Duke of *Holstein*. The Protestant Princes in *Germany* were either awed by the *French*, or divided between the Northern Crowns: *Spain* was weak, and unable to defend it self, and too Catholick at last to espouse heartily the Interests of a Protestant Nation against a *Roman Catholick* Prince; so that they had nothing to fear but the States of *Holland*, and the Prince of *Orange*: And they looked upon the States as a knot of Merchants, more intent upon their *Trade*, than concern'd for the Fate of *England*; and yet if they should attempt any thing, *England* and *France* by Sea and Land would easily reduce them into the same state they were in in the year 1672.

Now supposing the *French* King, who is so zealous a *Roman* Catholick, had not so vigorously (and as far as I can see) so impoliticky carried on the Controversie with the Pope about the Franchises of his Ambassador at *Rome*; and that he had had the patience to suffer the Emperor to recover what his Ancestors had lost to the *Turks*, and left the Controversies between the Elector *Palatine* (who is a *Roman* Catholick) and the Dutchess of *Orleans*, to the determination of the Pope, what had *France* lost in all this? And who then could have made one step to the Recovery of *England*? I know very well it is said, *the Emperor would certainly begin a War with* France *so soon as ever he had ended this with the* Turks *to his mind*: And in truth he had just reason so do. But it is more probable he would have spent first some years in fortifying, peopling, and settling his new Conquests to secure himself on that side against his most formidable Neighbour, rather than that he would presently transfer his Arms and victorious Armies from the East to the West, and pass so suddenly from one long and ruinous War to another of no less hazard and expence. And yet if he had done so, the Princes of the Empire would never so heartily and generally have joyned with him against *France*, if he had been the *Agressor*, how just soever his cause had been, as it might easily have been foreseen they would, when they were first attack'd, and as it were forced to flie to the Emperor for his Protection. So that it was apparently the Interest of *France* to have sat still, and to have taken the first opportunity had offered it self to have enslaved the first of his Neighbours that had call'd him to their assistance: and our *English Jesuits* did not doubt but that he would.

In the *Interim* it was well for *England*, that the *French* King acted as he did; for to him, in a great measure, our Delivery is owing (tho he never intended it) his Breach with the Pope and the Empire, having not only given the *Dutch* a pretence to arm by Sea and Land, and so blinded the Eyes of our *English* Court, that they never saw, nor would believe themselves concern'd in it, till it was too late to help it: But it also united not only all the Protestant, but all the Catholick Princes too (except *France*) in the Project of delivering us for their own security, that we might be in a condition to unite with them again for the preservation of *Europe*, from following the Triumphant Chariot of *France* in Chains.

His late Majesty seems to have been the only Prince in Christendom, who made it his great and almost only design to advance the Interests of the Church of *Rome*, without, and against his own temporal Interest. The rest of the Princes and their Council look in the first place to their own Concerns at home and abroad, and make the Affairs of Religion subservient to their other Designs. The Pope is not so fond of his old *Mumpsimus*, or of the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* it self, as to suffer *France* to conquer *Italy*, *Spain*, or *Germany*; no nor *England*, nor *Holland*, neither, how much soever it might seem to facilitate their Reduction to the See of *Rome*; because he knows very well the first Prince that shall make himself the Universal Monarch of *Europe*, or gain such a power over the rest, as is not to be disputed or opposed, will certainly put an end to the Soveraignty, Wealth, Grandeur, and Independency of the Court of *Rome*; and the Pope will become as subject to him (notwithstanding his Infallibility) as the *Mufty* is to the *Grand Signior*, who never makes any Scruple to depose or bow-string the Infallible Gentleman whenever he crosseth his Designs, and to set up another in his stead, whose Infallibility will be more complaisant. The Emperor of *Germany* is as Religious and as zealous a Prince for the Roman Catholick Religion as ever sprung out of that Family: But he has no mind, after all, to lose his Life, his Empire, and his Liberty; he had rather there should be some Hereticks in *Germany*, than to suffer the *French* King to send his Apostolick Dragoons to convert them, and drive him into Exile. The King of *Spain* values the poor dispeopled share he has yet left him in *Europe*, too well to put it into the Hands of the *French*, in order to the reducing the Northern Hereticks to the *See of Rome*. No wonder then that these

these Princes should all unite with his now Majesty of *England*, against a Prince of their own Religion, when they saw he had embraced a design which would certainly end in his and all their Ruins, and which would raise *France* to such an height of Power, as could never be retrieved.

This was very near the state of Affairs at home and abroad, when Monsieur the *Conte d'Avaux*, the *French* King's Ambassador at the *Hague* the 9*th* of *September* last publish'd this *Memorial*, which first opened the Eyes of our small States men here in *England*. *N. S.*

My Lords,

THE sincere desire the King my Master has to maintain the Tranquility of Europe, will not suffer his Majesty to see the great Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, made by your Lordships, without taking the measures that Prudence (the continual Companion of all his Actions) inspires him with, to prevent the Mischiefs these War-like Preparations will certainly draw after them. *Octob.* 30. 1688.

And altho the King, perswaded of the wisdom of your Councils, would not imagine that a Free state should so easily resolve to take up Arms, and to kindle a War, which in the present Juncture cannot but be fatal to all Christendom: Nevertheless his Majesty cannot believe your Lordships would engage your selves in so great Expences both at home and abroad, to entertain in pay so many Foreign Troops, to put to Sea so numerous a Fleet so late in the year, and to prepare so great Magazines, if you had not a design form'd answerable to the greatness of these Preparations.

All these Circumstances, and many others that I may not here produce, perswade the King, my Master, with reason, that this Arming threatens England: Wherefore his Majesty hath commanded me to declare to you on his part, That the Bands of Friendship and Alliance between him and the King of Great Britain, will oblige him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of Hostility that shall be committed by your Troops or your Fleet, against his Majesty of Great Britain, as a manifest Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.

I leave to your Lordships Prudence to reflect on the Consequences that such Enterprises may have, his Majesty not having ordered me to make you this Declaration on his Part, without his sincere Intention to prevent (as I have already had the Honour to tell you) all that may trouble the Peace of Europe.

Given at the *Hague* the 9*th* of *September*, 1689.

Att

At the same time the Marquiss of *Albyville*, the *English* Envoy Extraordinary at the *Hague*, put in this Memorial.

High and Mighty Lords,

*The great and surprizing Preparations for War made by your Lordships by Sea and Land, in a Season when Ordinarily all Action, especially at Sea, is laid aside, giving just cause of surprize and allarm to all* Europe, *obliges the King my Master, who has had nothing so much in his mind, since his Accession to the Crown, as a Continuation of the Peace and good Correspondence with this State, to order the Marquiss* d' Albyville *his Envoy Extraordinary, to know your Highnesses intentions thereby.*

*His Majesty as their ancient Ally and Confederate, believes it just to demand this Knowledge, which he hoped with good reason to have heard from your Ambassador: but as he sees this Duty of Alliance and Confederation neglected, and that such Power is raised without communicating the intent in the least to him, he finds himself obliged to reinforce his Fleet, and to put himself in a Condition to maintain the Peace of Christendom.* N. S. Given at the *Hague* the 2. of *September*, 1688.

Signed *Le Marquiss d' Albyville.*

As the Count *d' Avaux* seem'd not to expect or desire any Answer to his Memorial, presuming the terror of his August and Victorious Master was sufficient to put an effectual stop to the designs of the States, so they on their part return'd no Answer to him; but then they replied to the Marquiss *d' Albyville, That they had Armed in imitation of his Britannick Majesty and the other Princes: And that they had thereby given no just cause of offence by Arming, when all the other Princes were in motion: And that they were long since fully convinc'd of the Alliance, which the King his Master had treated with* France, *and which had been mention'd to them by M.* Le Comte d' Avaux *in his Memorial.*

This Answer was like a clap of Thunder to the *English* Court, and caused the Revocation of Sir *Bevil Skelton*, who was soon after committed to the *Tower*, upon pretence he had given his consent to the Memorial of M. *d' Avaux* without communicating it to the *English* Court; and Means were used to persuade the Court of *France* to disown and disclaim this Memorial and the Alliance mention'd in it; but this could never be obtained. So that the *French* League or Treaty, doth from hence appear to have been reasonably insisted on by the States of *Holland*, the *French* themselves

selves having thus discovered it; and the *English* Nation, from what had been done in *France* and *England*, had all the reason in the World to believe it was levell'd against their Religion and Civil Liberties, and was the Machine to have put a fatal period to all that was valuable in that Kingdom.

In *England* all things were then in the utmost degree of Disor- *Septemb.*
der and Security; the Army committing the utmost degree of Insolence in all places where they were quartered, and the People making frequent and loud Complaints: Whereupon his late Majesty issued out again an old Order which had been frequently, and to no good purpose published before, commanding that no Souldier should be lodged in any private House, without the free and voluntary Consent of the Owner; and that all Houses should be deem'd private Houses except Victualling-Houses, and Houses of publick Entertainment, or such as have License to sell Wine or any other Liquor, *&c.* Under this pretence they brought in all Bakers, Cooks, *&c.* This Order bears date this 2*d* of *September* at *Windsor*. *vid. P. 49.*

Tho' the *English* Army were become thus intolerable to the Nation, and there was so great a Storm gathering in *Holland*, yet so stupid were our Drivers, that nothing would serve our then Masters, but the filling the Army with *Irish men*, who were likely to be more disorderly, and more hated; to that end his Grace the Duke of *Berwick* ordered the Regiment quarter'd at *Portsmouth*, to take in about thirty *Irish* Gentlemen, which was opposed by *John Beaumont*, Lievtenant Col. *Thomas Paston*, *Simon Parke*, *Thomas Orme*, *William Cook*, and *John Port*, Officers and Commanders in that Regiment, which they had rais'd at their own Costs and Charges, during the *Monmouth* Invasion. The first of these made this Speech, by their appointment, and in all their names to the Duke of *Berwick*.

Sir,

*I am desired by these Gentlemen (with whose Sense I concur) to inform your Grace, that we do not think it consistent with our Honours to have Foreigners imposed upon us, without being complain'd of, that our Companies were weak, or Orders to recruit them, not doubting but if such Orders had been given us, We that first in very ill times raised them Hundreds, could easily now have made them according to the Kings Complement: We humbly Petition we may have leave to fill up our Companies with such men of our Nation we may judge most suitable for the Kings Service,*

*and*

*Septemb.* *and to support our Honours; or that we may be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to lay down our Commissions.*

The Officers having return'd this Answer to the Duke of *Berwick*, sent the following Letter to the Honourable Major *Slingsby* Lieutenant Governour of *Portsmouth*.

Sir,

*We are very desirous that our Actions may be favourably construed; wherefore we have addressed this to you, with the Sense of the Discourse we had with his Grace the Duke of* Berwick, *which we hope will neither appear mutinous nor disrespectful, unto which we humbly put our Hands, and desire you to impart it to his Grace.*

John Beaumont. Tho. Orme.
Tho. Paston. Will. Cooke.
Simon Parke. John Port.

The account of this Opposition being forthwith sent to *Windsor*, where the Court then was, the Rage and Fury against these rebellious, heretical Officers, was unspeakable; and in truth nothing could be more contrary to their Designs, which was by degrees to fill up the *English* Army with *Irish* and Roman Catholicks, because they found it was not possible to do it at once, as they had done in *Ireland*: And now nothing would serve them but the hanging the six honest Gentlemen by Martial Law; and accordingly a Party of Horse were ordered to go down to *Portsmouth* to bring them up in custody, and a Court Martial was ordered to proceed against them; and if the Memorial of the *French* Ambassador had not come in that very Morning to shew them their danger, in all probability they had been so treated; but upon this, the 10th. of *September* they were only cashear'd. It was then commonly said they were ill treated on the Road, as is said in the first Edition, but that report is since contradicted by others: However, this was one of those things which contributed very much to what followed.

The 20th. of *September*, the King being then returned with the Court to *White-hall*, published this Declaration.

'HAving already signified Our pleasure to call a Parliament to 'meet at Our City of *Westminster* in *November* next, and 'Writs of Summon being issued accordingly, lest those whose 'Right it is to chuse Members of Parliament, should be under any

'Pre-

'Prejudices and Mistakes thro' the Artifices of disaffected Persons; *Septemb.*
'We think fit to declare, That it is Our Royal Purpose to endea-
'vour a legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all Our Subjects; it is also our Resolution *inviolably to preserve the Church of* England *by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they shall never be altered by any other ways than by repealing the several Clauses which inflict Penalties upon Persons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Ecclesiastical Benefices or Promotions within the meaning of the said Acts, for using and exercising their Religion contrary to the Tenor and Purport of the said Acts of Uniformity.* And for the further securing not only the Church of *England*, but the Protestant Religion in general, We are willing the Roman Catholicks shall remain incapable to be Members of the House of *Commons*; whereby those Fears and Apprehensions will be removed, which many persons have had, That the Legislative Authority would be engrossed by them, and turn'd against Protestants.

'We do likewise assure all our loving Subjects, that We shall be ready to do every thing else for their safety and advantage, that becomes a King, who will always take care of his People; and if they desire the happiness of their Country, We exhort them to lay by all Animosities, and dispose themselves to think of such Persons to represent them in Parliament, whose Abilities and Temper render them fit for so great and good a Work.

'And for the preventing any Disorders, Irregularities, or undue Proceedings whatsoever that may happen either before, or at the time of Election of Members for the insuing Parliament, We do hereby strictly require and command all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatsoever, to whom the execution of any Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept for, or concerning the choice of Members for the ensuing Parliament shall belong, That they cause such Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept to be duly published and executed according to the Tenor thereof: And the Members that shall be chosen, to be fairly return'd according to the Merits of the Choice.

The Nation was by this time become so distrustful of all the Proceedings of the Court, that this *Declaration* was thought absolutely necessary to assure them a Parliament should be holden, and yet after all it was little believed. The Preparations in *Holland*

*Septemb.* had made it neceſſary to wheedle the Church of *England-men*, and therefore they were told only the Penalties of the Acts of Uniformity ſhould be repeal'd, that an Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience might be eſtabliſhed: And the Roman Catholicks not being likely to be choſen for Members of the lower Houſe in this Parliament, they were contented to continue uncapable of being choſen in there, intimating, they intended however to ſit in the Houſe of Lords.

The 26th. of *September* there was an Order made to authorize and empower the Lords Lieutenants (many of which were Roman Catholicks, or unqualified perſons) of the ſeveral Counties, to grant Deputations to ſuch Gentlemen as had been lately removed from being Deputy-Lieutenants; and his Majeſty alſo gave directions to the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of *England*, to put into the Commiſſion of the Peace ſuch Gentlemen as had been lately laid aſide, and ſhall be recommended by the ſaid Lords Lieutenants.

In the *Interim* certain Intelligence being brought, that the Preparations in *Holland* were deſigned againſt *England*: The 24th. of *September* were ſummoned the Biſhop of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter* and *Briſtol*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; and the 28th. of *Septemb.* they appeared at *White-hall*, and there waited accordingly that day upon the King in a Body; *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath and Wells*, and *Peterborough*; but *London* and *Briſtol* came not then to Town; and the Archbiſhop was ſick, and came alone the next day. There paſſed nothing then but general Expreſſions of his Favour, and Promiſes of Duty on the Biſhops part. Whereupon they all deſired the Archbiſhop to beg a ſecond Admiſſion, which was appointed on *Tueſday* the 2d. of *October*, but was put off till the next day.

The 28th. of *September* his Majeſty put out this following Declaration.

'WE have received undoubted Advice, That a great and ſud-
'den invaſion from *Holland* with an armed Force of Fo-
'reigners and Strangers, will ſpeedily be made in an hoſtile man-
'ner upon this Our Kingdom; and altho' ſome falſe Pretences
'relating to Liberty, Property and Religion, contrived or worded
'with Art and Subtilty, may be given out (as ſhall be thought
'uſeful upon ſuch an Attempt) it is manifeſt however (conſider-
'ing the great Preparations that are making) that no leſs matter

'by

'by this Invasion is propos'd, than an absolute Conquest of these *Septemb.*
'Our Kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting Us, and
'all Our People, to a Foreign Power, which is promoted (as We
'understand, altho' it may seem almost incredible) by some of
'Our Subjects, being persons of wicked and restless Spirits, im-
'placable Malice, and desperate Designs, who having no sense of
'former intestine Distractions, the Memory and Misery whereof
'should endear, and put a value upon that Peace and Happiness
'which hath long been enjoyed; nor being moved by Our reite-
'rated Acts of Grace and Mercy, wherein we have studied and de-
'lighted to abound towards all Our Subjects, and even towards
'those who were once avowed and open Enemies, and who do
'again endeavour to imbroil this Kingdom in Blood and Ruine
'to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, proposing to them-
'selves a Prey and Booty in such a publick Confusion.

'We cannot omit to make it known, that altho' We had no-
'tice some time since, that a Foreign Force was preparing against
'Us, yet We have always declined any Foreign Succours, but
'rather have chosen (next under God) to rely upon the true and
'ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of our own People, with
'whom we have often ventur'd Our life for the honour of this
'Nation, and in whose defence against all Enemies We are firmly
'resolved to live and die: And therefore We solemnly conjure
'Our Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies
'and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together in
'the defence of Us and their native Country, which thing alone
'will (under God) defeat and frustrate the principal Hope and
'Design of Our Enemies, who expect to find Our People divided,
'and by publishing perhaps some plausible Reasons of their com-
'ing hither, as the specious, tho' false pretences of maintaining
'the Protestant Religion, or asserting the Liberties and Proper-
'ties of Our People, do hope thereby to conquer this great and
'renowned Kingdom: But albeit the design hath been carried on
'with all imaginable Secresie and Endeavour to surprize and de-
'ceive Us, We have not been wanting on our part, to make such
'Provisions as did become Us; and by God's Blessing, We make
'no doubt of being found in so good a Posture, that Our Enemies
'may have cause to repent such their rash and unjust Attempt.

'We did intend (as we lately declared) to have met our Par-
'liament in *November* next, and the Writs are issued forth accord-

*Septemb.* 'ingly, propoſing to Our ſelves, amongſt other things, that We 'might be able to quiet the minds of all Our People in matters 'of Religion, purſuant to the ſeveral *Declarations* We have pub- 'liſhed to that effect; but in regard of this ſtrange and unrea- 'ſonable Attempt from our Neighbouring Country (*without any* '*manner of Provocation*) deſign'd to divert our ſaid Gracious 'Purpoſes, We find it neceſſary to recall Our ſaid Writs, which 'We do hereby recall accordingly, commanding and requiring 'Our loving Subjects to take notice thereof, and to ſurceaſe all 'further proceedings thereon. And foraſmuch as the approach- 'ing Danger which now is at hand, will require a great and vigo- 'rous Defence, We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all 'Our loving Subjects both by Sea and Land (whoſe ready Con- 'currence, Valour and Courage, as true *Engliſh men*, We no way 'doubt in a juſt cauſe) to be prepared to defend their Country. 'And We do hereby require and command all Lords-Lieutenants, 'and Deputy-Lieutenants, to uſe their beſt and utmoſt endea- 'vours to reſiſt, repel, and ſuppreſs Our Enemies who come with 'ſuch Confidence and great Preparations to invade and conquer 'theſe Our Kingdoms. And laſtly, We do moſt expreſly and 'ſtrictly enjoin and prohibit all and every Our Subjects of what 'degree or condition ſoever, from giving any manner of Aid, 'Aſſiſtance, Countenance or Succour, or from having or holding 'any Correſpondence with theſe Our Enemies, or any of their 'Complices, upon pain of High-Treaſon, and being proſecuted 'and proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity.

*Given at Our Court at* Whitehall *the* 28*th. of* Septemb. 1688.

The Reader may be pleaſed to obſerve, that Foreign Forces, which muſt be *French*, were declined; which implies they were proffered, and perhaps it had been never the worſe for them, if the *Iriſh*, which conſidering their Religion and temper towards the *Engliſh*, are as much Foreigners as the *French*, had been declined too; for we ſhall ſee they did him much Miſchief, and little or no Service. 2. That the meeting of the Parliament was diſcharged before ever there was any mention of reſtoring the Charters of the Corporations.

*September* the 30. his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Derby*, and the Lord *Germyns*, and others of the Nobility were ſaid to have offered their Service to his Majeſty, and

and ſeveral of them had Commiſſions ſent to them to raiſe men in their Countries. None of theſe, and very few other of the Nobility or Gentry coming up, but only ſending Letters, which were now thought wonderful Obligations, ſo dreadful was the thought of the Invaſion at Court, and ſo great the diſcontent of the whole Body of the Nation for the late Tranſactions. *Septemb.*

On *Tueſday* the 2d. of *October* the King declared publickly in Council, That he would reſtore the Charter of the City of *London*. And in the Evening the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London* attended the King at *Whitehall*, where he told them, *That out of his Concern for the Peace and Welfare of the City, and as a Mark of the great Confidence he had in them at this time, when the Kingdom is threatned with an Invaſion, he had reſolved to reſtore to them their Ancient Charter and Priviledges, and to put them into the ſame Condition they were in at the time of the Judgment pronounced againſt them upon the* QUO WARRANTO, *that ſo they might be the better enabled to ſerve him with Duty and Loyalty, which they had given the King his Brother and him ſo many Teſtimonies of, and upon which he depended.* And hereupon he commanded the *Lord Chancellor* and the *Attorney General* to prepare an Inſtrument of Reſtauration and Confirmation. The Biſhops, who had reſolved before to ask this the next day, turned that Requeſt into Thanks, for his having prevented that part of their Petition. *October.*

The *Miniſters* by this time became ſo ſenſible of their Danger, and of the temper of the Nation, that the 2d. day of *October* they procured a General Pardon; in the beginning of which are theſe words: *It has always been Our earneſt Deſire ſince Our Acceſſion to the Crown, that all Our People ſhould live at eaſe, and in full enjoyment of Peace and Happineſs under Our Government; and nothing can be more agreeable unto Us, than that Offenders ſhould be reformed by Acts of Mercy extended towards them, rather than Puniſhment; Our open Enemies having upon Repentance found Our Favour; and altho' beſides Our particular Pardons which have been granted to many Perſons, it be not long ſince We iſſued forth Our Royal Proclamation of General Pardon to all Our People; yet foraſmuch as they who live moſt peaceably, do often fall within the reach of ſome of Our Laws,* &c. Beſides the uſual Exceptions, were excepted all Treaſons committed or done in the parts beyond the Seas, or any other place out of this our Realm, and by name *Robert Parſons, Edward Matehews, Samuel Venner, Andrew Fletcher*, Colonel *John Rumſey*, Major *John Mauly, Iſaac Manley*,

*October.* *Manley, Francis Charleton*, Esq; *John Wildman*, Esq; *Titus Oats*, *Robert Ferguson*, *Gilbert Burnet*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, *Laurence Braddon*, *Samuel Johnson* Clerk, *Thomas Tripping*, Esq; and Sir *Rowland Guynne*.

The Pardon here hinted at, came out some few days before this; and in that all Corporations and Bodies Politicks were excepted, which looked so like a design against the Bishops, Deans and Colledges, that it was taken notice of; and this new Pardon sent after the former to shew the World the *Ministers* were only a little too intent upon their own security (as they had most need of this Pardon) so they never thought of the other.

On *Wednesday*, *October* the 3d. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Asaph*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester*, *Bath and Wells*, and *Peterborough*, all in a Body waited upon the King, when the Archbishop spoke thus to him:

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

*WHen I had lately the Honour to wait upon you, you were pleased briefly to acquaint me with what had passed two days before between your Majesty and these my Reverend Brethren: by which, and by the Account which they themselves gave me, I perceived, that in truth, there passed nothing, but in very general Terms and Expressions of your Majesties gracious and favourable Inclinations to the Church of* England, *and of our reciprocal Duty and Loyalty to your Majesty: Both which were sufficiently understood and declared before; and (as one of my Brethren then told you) would have been in the same state, if the Bishops had not stir'd one foot out of their Dioceses. Sir, I found it grieved my Lords the Bishops to have come so far, and to have done so little; and I am assured they came then prepared to have given your Majesty some more particular Instances of their Duty and Zeal for your Service, had they not apprehended from some words which fell from your Majesty, That you were not then at leisure to receive them. It was for this Reason that I then besought your Majesty to command us once more to attend you all together, which your Majesty was pleased graciously to allow and encourage. We therefore are here now before you, with all Humility, to beg your Permission, that we may suggest to your Majesty such Advices as we think proper at this Season, and conducing to your Service, and so leave them to your Princely Consideration.* Which the King being graciously pleased to permit, the Archbishop proceeded as followeth.

e Bp. of h and ells.

I. *Our first humble Advice is, That your Majesty will be Graciously pleased to put the Management of your Government, in the several Counties,*

*Counties, into the Hands of ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry there, as are legally qualified for it.* October.

II. *That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to annul your Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and that no ſuch Court as that Commiſſion ſets up, may be erected for the future.*

III. *That your Majeſty will graciouſly be pleaſed, That no Diſpenſation may be granted or continued, by Virtue whereof, any perſon not duly qualified by Law, hath been, or may be put into any Place, Office, or Preferment in Church or State, or in the Univerſities, or continued in the ſame, eſpecially ſuch as have Cure of Souls annexed to them; and in particular, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of St.* Mary Magdalen *Colledge in* Oxford.

IV. *That your Majeſty will graciouſly be pleaſed to ſet aſide all Licenſes or Faculties already granted; by which any perſons of the Romiſh Communion may pretend to be enabled to teach Publick Schools; and that no ſuch be granted for the future.*

V. *That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to deſiſt from the Exerciſe of ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, as hath of late been uſed; and to permit that Point to be freely and calmly debated and argued, and finally ſetled in Parliament.*

VI. *That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to inhibit the four Foreign Biſhops, who ſtile themſelves* Vicars Apoſtolical, *from further invading the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction which is by Law veſted in the Biſhops of this Church.*

VII. *That your Majeſty will be pleaſed graciouſly to fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions within your Gift, both in* England *and* Ireland, *with men of Learning and Piety; and in particular (which I muſt own to be my peculiar boldneſs, for 'tis done without the privity of my Bretbren) That you will be graciouſly pleaſed forthwith to fill the Archiepiſcopal Chair of* York (*which hath ſo long ſtood empty, and upon which a whole Province depends*) *with ſome very worthy Perſon: For which (pardon me, Sir, if I am bold to ſay) you have now here before you a very fair Choice.*

VIII. *That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to ſuperſede all further Proſecution of* Quo Warranto's *againſt Corporations, and to reſtore to them their ancient Charters, Priviledges, and Franchiſes, as we hear God hath put into your Majeſty's Heart to do for the City of* London, *which we intended to have made otherwiſe one of our principal Requeſts.*

IX. *That if it ſo pleaſe your Majeſty, Writs may be iſſued out with convenient ſpeed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which*

*October.* *which the Church of* England *may be ſecured according to the* Acts of Uniformity; *Proviſion may be made for a due* Liberty of Conſcience, *and for ſecuring the Liberties and Properties of all your Subjects; and a mutual Confidence and good Underſtanding may be eſtabliſhed between your Majeſty and all your People.*

X. *Above all, That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to permit your Biſhops to offer you ſuch Motives and Arguments as (we truſt) may, by God's Grace, be effectual to perſwade your Majeſty to return to the Communion of the Church of* England, *into whoſe moſt holy Catholick Faith you were baptized, and in which you were educated, and to which it is our daily earneſt Prayer to God, that you may be re-united.*

*Theſe, Sir, are the humble Advices, which out of Conſcience of the Duty we owe to God, to your Majeſty, and to our Country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majeſty, as ſuitable to the preſent State of your Affairs, and moſt conducing to your Service; and ſo to leave them to your Princely Conſideration.* And we heartily beſeech Almighty God, in whoſe hand the Hearts of all Kings are, ſo to diſpoſe and govern yours, that in all your Thoughts, Words and Works, you may ever ſeek his Honour and Glory, and ſtudy to preſerve the People committed to your Charge, in Wealth, Peace and Godlineſs, to your own both temporal and eternal Happineſs. *Amen.*

We do heartily concur *W. Cant.*
*Fran. Ely.*
*Jo. Ciceſtr.*
*H. London.* *Tho. Roffen.*
*P. Wincheſter.* *Tho. Bath & Wells.*
*W. Aſaph.* *Tho. Petriburg.*

We may gueſs at the Rages the Prieſts were in at theſe Advices, by the reſentment they * expreſſed afterwards againſt theſe innocent and good Propoſals, when their Affairs were in a much worſe ſtate than now they were. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* obſerves, that they were drawn at *Lambeth* on *Monday*, the firſt of *October*, and preſented the third; and the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration was ſigned in *Holland* the tenth New Stile, which was the firſt of our Month, and the matter of them is very near the ſame, except one or two particulars, too high for Subjects to meddle with; and all this at a time when the King thought of nothing but Victory, when, in all probability, he was the ſtrongeſt both at Sea and Land, when as yet there was no appearance of ſuch a Prodigious aliena-

* *Dutch Deſign Anatomized*, p. 29. The Biſhops Propoſals are the contrivance of the King's Enemies, framed of purpoſe to amuſe the people, as if till they be granted, we are not ſafe.

alienation of his Subjects Affections; when at leaſt his Army was thought to be ſtill firm to him, aud when the very Winds and Seas ſeemed hitherto as much on his ſide as they all afterwards turned againſt him. *October.*

The ſame day the King gave Commiſſion to the Duke of *Newcaſtle* to raiſe a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, and the Marquiſs *de Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards* Regiments of Foot; and many Independent Troops and Companies to ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry.

*October* the 5th, two days after the Biſhops had made the Ten famous *Propoſals* above-recited, the King declared in Council, That in purſuance of his Reſolution and Intentions to protect the Church of *England*, and that all Suſpicions and Jealouſies to the contrary may be removed, he had thought fit to diſſolve the *Commiſſion for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*, &c. and accordingly did give Directions to the Lord Chancellor of *England* to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith done. Now this was only half what was asked; it not being declared illegal, nor any Promiſe made, ſo ſoon as ever the times would ſerve, it ſhould not be renewed: And we ſhall ſee the Jeſuits were champing on it bye and bye.

The ſame day his Majeſty was pleaſed to make the Duke of *Newcaſtle* Lord Lieutenant of the three Ridings in the County of *York*.

The ſixth of *October* the King was alſo graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore to the City of *London*, all their ancient Franchiſes and Priviledges, as fully as they enjoyed them before the late Judgment upon the *Quo Warranto*; and the Lord Chancellor did them the Honour to bring down the Inſtrument of Reſtitution and Confirmation, under the Great Seal of *England*. And Sir *John Chapman* was thereby conſtituted Lord Mayor till the time of Election, and was accordingly ſworn in the Guild-hall with the uſual Solemnity.

The ſame day the Aldermen (now in being) that were at the time of the ſaid Judgment, took their former places, and the Vacancies were to be ſupplied by the Election of the Citizens, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the City.

And an Addreſs of Thanks was forthwith voted and ſigned for the Favour granted to them.

*October* the 10th, his Majeſty having received ſeveral Complaints of great Abuſes committed in the late Regulations of the Corpo-

*October.* rations, he thereupon in Council thought fit to authorize and require the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties to inform themselves of all such Abuses and Irregularities, within their Lieutenancies, and to make forthwith Report thereof to his Majesty, together with what they conceive fit to be done for the redressing of the same: Whereupon he would give such further Orders as should be requisite. But pressing News coming over from time to time of the great Preparations in *Holland*, these slow Methods soon appeared unsafe, and not fit to be relied upon; and therefore it became necessary to throw up at once this great and beloved advantage, now it was utterly impossible to keep it any longer. By all which we may observe, that all was pure Force and Fear; and it will appear more fully in what is to follow.

About the same time Sir *Thomas Haggerston*, Lieutenant Governour of *Berwick*, gave an account of the unanimous Loyalty of that Corporation, and that they had desired him to make humble Suit to have a Commission sent down for the raising of a Regiment of the Inhabitants, to be assisting to his Majesties Forces there, for defence of that place as there may be occasion.

The 11th of *October* there was published a Form of Prayers to be us'd in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial Churches and Chappels, within this Kingdom, during the time of Publick Apprehensions from the Danger of Invasion, and to be added to the daily Office both Morning and Evening, immediately after the Prayers for the King and the Royal Family. The first of these was a Prayer for Repentance; the second, for the King.

O *Almighty God, the blessed and only Potentate, we offer up our humble Supplications and Prayers to thy Divine Goodness, beseeching thee in this time of Danger to save and protect our most gracious King: give thy Holy Angels charge over him; preserve his Royal Person in Health and Safety; inspire him with Wisdom and Justice in all his Counsels*; Prosper all his Undertakings for thy Honour and Service with good Success; *Fill his Princely Heart with a Fatherly Care of all his People; and give all his Subjects Grace always to bear Faith and* true *Allegiance to his Majesty; that both King and People joining together to promote thy Glory, and conscientiously discharging their Duties in their several Stations, may all give thee Thanks and Praise for thy most mighty Protection, and for all other thy great Mercies vouchsafed to us, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Saviour.* Amen.

The

The third Prayer for Peace and Unity. *October.*

O *Lord God, our only Hope in time of need; save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from all those* Dangers that threaten us; *Give Peace in our Days,* O *Lord, if it be thy Will, and prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood in our Land: Reconcile all our Dissentions, and heal all our Breaches*: Preserve that holy Religion we profess, together with our Laws and Ancient Government; *and unite us all in unfeigned and universal Charity one towards another, and in one and the same holy Worship and Communion; that with one Heart and one Mouth we may glorifie thy holy Name, and shew forth thy Praise from Generation to Generation: And this we beg for the sake of Jesus thy beloved, in whom thou art well pleased; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory now and evermore.* Amen.

I am fully perswaded, these Prayers contributed very considerably to the late Revolution, and taught Men they were no more bound to promote any of the late King's Undertakings with their Swords than with their Prayers, but what tended to the Honour and Service of God: And the very supplicating God to *Preserve our Holy Religion, together with our Laws and Ancient Government*, necessarily put Men in mind that they had been endangered; and by whom, was as well known; and it seemed Nonsense and Hypocrisie to pray to God to preserve these, and in the mean time to aid and assist the Enemies of both to destroy and ruine them.

*October* the 17th there was a *Proclamation* put out for restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights, and Franchises, as followeth.

'WHereas We are informed, That several Deeds of Surrender, which have been lately made by several Corporations and Bodies Corporate, of and in Our Cities and Towns within our Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, of their Charters, Franchises, and Priviledges, are not yet Recorded or Inroll'd: and that upon the Proceedings and Rules for Judgment, which have lately been had upon the *Quo Warranto*'s, Judgments are not yet entred upon Record: Whereupon, notwithstanding New Charters have been granted in the Reign of Our late dear Brother, and in Our Reign; which said Deeds (being not Inroll'd nor Recorded) do not amount unto, or in Law make any Surrender of the Charters, Franchises, or Liberties therein mentio-

*October.* 'ned: And such of the said Corporations or Bodies Politick, a-
'gainst which Rules for Judgment have been made in the Life-
'time of Our late dear Brother, or since, in Our Court of King's-
'Bench (but no Judgments entred upon Record) are not Discor-
'porate or Dissolved, and that it is in Our Power to leave such Cor-
'porations in the same State and Condition they were in, and to
'discharge all further Proceedings and Effects that may be of such
'Rules for Judgments, and Deeds of Surrender: WE do hereby
'publish and Declare, That upon due Search and Examination
'made, We have satisfaction, that the Deeds of Surrender made
'by the Corporations and Bodies Politick of the said Cities and
'Towns, except the Corporations following (that is to say) *Thet-*
'*ford*, *Nottingham*, *Bridgwater*, *Ludlow*, *Bewdley*, *Beverley*, *Teuks-*
'*bury*, *Exeter*, *Doncaster*, *Colchester*, *Winchester*, *Launceston*, *Lisderd*,
'*Plimpton*, *Tregony*, *Plymouth*, *Dunwich*, *St. Ives*, *Fowy*, *East-Looe*,
'*Camelford*, *West-Looe*, *Tintegal*, *Penryn*, *Truro*, *Bodmyn*, *Haldleigh*,
'*Lestwithell* and *Saltash*, are not inrolled or recorded in any of
'our Courts: And tho' Rules for Judgments have passed upon In-
'formations in Nature of a *Quo Warranto*, against the Corporati-
'ons and Bodies Politick of several Cities and Towns in our said
'Kingdom and Dominion, yet no Judgments have been or are
'entred upon Record upon any such Informations, except against
'the City of *London*, *Chester*, *Calne*, *St. Ives*, *Pool*, *York*, *Thaxted*,
'*Llangbour*, and *Malmesbury*. *And We of Our meer Grace and Fa-*
'*vour* being resolved to restore and put all our Cities, Towns, and
'Burroughs in *England* and *Wales*, and also Our Town of *Ber-*
'*wick upon Tweed*, into the same State and Condition they were
'and was in Our late dear Brothers Reign, before any Deed of
'Surrender was made of their Charters or Franchises, or Proceed-
'ings against them, or the Corporations or Bodies Politick, in or
'of the said Cities, Towns, or Boroughs, upon any *Quo Warranto*,
'or Information in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, had.

'We do therefore hereby publish, declare, direct, and require,
'That the said Corporations, and Bodies Politick and Corporate,
'of all the said Cities, Towns and Burroughs, whose Deeds of
'Surrender are not Inrolled, nor Judgments entred against them
'as aforesaid, and the Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Com-
'mon council-men, Assistants, Recorders, Town-clerks, Magi-
'strates, Ministers, Officers, Free-men, and all and every other
'the Members of, or in every of them respectively, upon the Pub-

'lica-

'lication of this Our Proclamation, take on them and proceed *October.*
'to act as a Corporation or Body Politick; and where places are
'vacant by Death, or otherwise, to make Elections, constitute,
'and fill up the same, (notwithstanding the usual Days and Times
'of Elections, by the Ancient Charters and Constitutions, shall
'happen to be past) and to do and execute and perform all and
'every Matter and Thing, as they lawfully might and ought to
'have done, if no such Deeds of Surrender, Rules for Judgment,
'or other Proceedings upon any such *Quo Warranto's* or Informa-
'tions had been had or made. And for the better effecting Our
'said Intention, We have by Order made by Us in Council, and
'under Our Sign Manual; and We do also by this Our Proclama-
'tion, made with the Advice of Our said Council, discharge, re-
'move, and dismiss all and every Person and Persons, of and from
'all Offices and Places of Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Aldermen,
'Common-council-men, Assistants, Recorder, Town-clerk, and
'all and every Office and Place, which they or any of them have
'or claim only by Charter, Patent, or Grant from our dear Bro-
'ther, or from Our Self, since the Dates of the respective Deeds
'of Surrender or Rules of Judgment; except such Corporations
'whose Deeds of Surrender are Inrolled, or against whom Judg-
'ment is entred; and that all and every such Person and Per-
'sons deliver up into the Hands of the said Persons hereby ap-
'pointed and intended to act and execute the said Offices and
'Places, all and every the Charters, Records, Books, Evidences,
'and Matters concerning the said Corporations.

'And We do hereby further publish and declare, That We
'have caused all and every the said Deeds of Surrender which
'can be found, to be delivered and put into the Hands of Our At-
'torney-General, to be by him cancell'd, and returned to the Cor-
'porations and Bodies Politick of the respective Cities and
'Towns whom they concern; and have also given to Our said
'Attorney Authority, and do hereby Warrant and Command
'him, not only not to proceed or enter Judgment upon the said
'*Quo Warranto's*, or Informations in nature of a *Quo Warranto*, or
'any of them, but to enter upon the respective Records *Noli Pro-*
'*sequi's* and Legal Discharges thereof. And We do hereby pub-
'lish and declare Our further Grace and Favour to the said Ci-
'ties, Corporations, and Burroughs, at any time hereafter, by any
'further Act, to grant, confirm, or restore unto them all their
'Charters,,

*October.* 'Charters, Liberties, Franchiſes, and Priviledges that at the re-
'ſpective times of ſuch Deeds of Surrender or Rules for Judg-
'ment made or given, they held or enjoyed. And in order to the
'perfecting Our ſaid Gracious Intentions, We do hereby like-
'wiſe publiſh and declare Our Royal Will and Pleaſure for and
'concerning the Reſtoring to ſuch Our Cities, Corporations, and
'Burroughs, within our ſaid Kingdom and Dominion, which have
'made Deeds of Surrender, or have had Judgment given againſt
'them, which Surrenders and Judgments are entred of Record.
'That Our Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Sollicitor-Gene-
'ral, without Fees to any Officer or Officers whatſoever, upon
'Application to them made, ſhall, and they are hereby required
'to prepare and paſs Charters, Inſtruments, Grants, and Letters-
'Patents, for the Incorporating, Re-granting, Confirming, and
'Reſtoring to all and every the ſaid Cities, Corporations, and
'Burroughs, their reſpective Charters, Liberties, Rights, Franchiſes,
'and Privileges, and for reſtoring the reſpective Mayors, Bailiffs,
'Recorders, Sheriffs, Town-clerks, Aldermen, Common council-
'men, Aſſiſtants, Officers, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Free men,
'as were of ſuch Cities, Corporations, and Burroughs, at the time
'of ſuch Deeds of Surrender or Judgments reſpectively given or
'had, and for the putting them into the ſame State, Condition,
'and Plight they were in at the times of ſuch Deeds of Surren-
'der, or Judgment made or given. And whereas divers Bur-
'roughs that were not heretofore Corporations, have ſince the
'Year 1679. had Charters of Incorporation granted and paſſed
'unto them; We hereby further expreſs and declare Our Royal
'Pleaſure, to determine and annul the ſaid laſt-mentioned Char-
'ters and Corporations: And to that end, We have in purſuance
'to the Power reſerved in the ſaid Charters, by Our Order in
'Council, and under Our Sign Manual, removed and diſcharged,
'and We do alſo by this Our Proclamation, made with the Ad-
'vice of Our ſaid Council, remove and diſcharge all and every
'Perſon of or in the ſaid laſt-mentioned Corporations, of and
'from all Offices and Places of Mayors, Bailiffs, Recorders, She-
'riffs, Aldermen, Common-council-men, Aſſiſtants, and of and
'from all and every other Office and Place from which We have
'Power reſerved by the ſaid Charters reſpectively to remove or
'diſcharge them. And We do hereby promiſe and declare, That
'We will do and conſent to all ſuch Acts, Matters, and Things

'as

'as shall be necessary to render these Our Gracious Intentions 'and Purposes effectual: *It being Our Gracious Intention to call a 'Parliament as soon as the General Disturbance of Our Kingdom by 'the intended Invasion, will admit thereof.* *October.*

Given at *Whitehall.*

It was necessary to transcribe this long Piece, to shew what an hurry of Confusion the Nation was then in, and how reasonable it was for the Bishops in their Seventh Proposal to desire the Restitution of all these Corporations and Burroughs to their Ancient State, without which (as things had been carried of late especially) it was altogether impossible a Free and Legal Parliament should be holden.

The 12th, of *October* his Majesty having declared his Resolution to preserve the Church of *England* in all its Rights and Immunities, as an Evidence of it, signified his Pleasure to the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, as Visitor of St. *Mary Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, to settle that Society Regularly and Statutably, who accordingly caused the 16th. of that Month a Citation to be fixed upon the College Gates, to re-call Dr. *Hough* and the former Fellows of that Society, by the second of *November* following: And he accordingly went down to reinstate them, and was joyfully received by the University; but an Account coming that very Post, that the *Dutch* Fleet had suffered very much in a Storm the 16th. of the same Month, *N. S.* and that they would hardly be able to sail till the Spring, his Lordship was re-called to *London*, and the Restitution put off. But soon after that false News being contradicted, the Affection to the Church of *England* revived, and the 24th. of *October* he returned, and went thorow with the Work.

The 15th. the pretended Prince of *Wales* (being Baptized before) was in the Chappel at St. *James's* declared *James, Francis, Edward*; the *Nuncio* representing the Pope; and the Queen *Dowager* being his only Godmother.

The 17th. the Earl of *Darby* was declared Lord-Lieutenant of *Chester* and *Lancaster*.

The 20th. of *October* we had the Favour of the following Proclamation bestowed upon us.

*Forasmuch*

*October.* *For asmuch as the great Preparations made to invade and conquer this Our Kingdom, require Our utmost Care in providing for the necessary Safety and Defence thereof, wherein we resolve (thro' God's Assistance) not to be wanting; and to the intent that Our Enemies, who will bring the heavy and sad Calamities of War, may not strengthen themselves at their coming hither, by seising the Horses, Oxen, and Cattel of any of Our Subjects, which may be useful and serviceable to them for Burthen and Draught: We have therefore thought fit, and We do here by this Our Royal Proclamation (published by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council) strictly charge and command all and every the Lords-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of Our respective Counties adjoining to the Sea, and all Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all and every other Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, within their respective Counties, Cities, Towns, and Divisions, That they cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first approach of the Enemy, to cause all Horses, Oxen, and Cattel which may be fit for Burthen or Draught, and not actually employed in the Defence and Service of Us and the Country, to be driven and removed by the space of at least Twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy shall attempt to Land, and to secure the same in such effectual manner, that they may not fall into the hands or power of any of Our Enemies: Wherein nevertheless it is Our Will and Pleasure that the respective owners may suffer as little damage and loss as may be consistent with the great and publick Safety of the Kingdom.*

The same day the Earl of *Oxford*, who had but a short time before been turned out of the Lieutenancy of *Essex*, for refusing to consent to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws and Tests*, was restored to the said Office, as several others were about the same time.

The 22d. of *October* his Majesty ordered the Council to be assembled, and desired the *Queen Dowager*, and such of the Peers of this Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, as were in Town, as also the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and the Judges, and several of their Majesty's Council learned in the Law, and the Ladies, Lords, and others that were present at the Queens Labour, did appear there, and declare upon Oath what they knew of the Birth of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* (as he was then call'd) of all which a full and particular Relation was then promised to be published, as was soon after done; but then those Depositions are too well known to need, and too long to be here inserted

inserted without cause: They have since been examined by another Pen, and therefore I may the better pass them by, when I have put this short question, Why were they so long delay'd, and to what purpose were they now published? Why, they had received intelligence that the Troops were now on Shipboard, and that the Prince of *Orange* would embark himself so soon as the Ships from the *Texel* have joyn'd with those in the *Maes*. *October.*

The Nation was by this time exasperated and fermented to that height against the Court and the Popish Party, that all places were fill'd with Reports and Whispers to their Disadvantage, many of which were false, and some ridiculous and impossible, which yet were then greedily swallowed, and industriously spread and promoted; the Authors of them being utterly unknown, and doing it on various accounts, some out of meer Wantonness and Banter; others out of Spite, Design, and Aversion. And there can be nothing more unreasonable than to expect his now Majesty should be obliged to prove all the silly Stories were then spread abroad by those who pretended to favour his Interest, but did in reality rather mischief than good to him. To put a stop to these Rumours, the 26. of *October* this following Proclamation was published.

'ALtho' since Our Accession to the Crown, We have graciously extended Our Royal Mercy and Clemency to Our 'Subjects by several General Pardons, one whereof was lately 'published; yet we are sensible that divers evil disposed Persons 'being not reformed or wrought upon by such Our Grace and 'Favour, do notwithstanding make it their business by Writing, 'Printing, or Speaking, to defame Our Government with false and 'seditious News and Reports, thereby intending to amuse Our 'loving Subjects, and as far as they are able, to create in them an 'universal Jealousie and Discontent, especially in this time of pub-'lick Danger threatned by the intended Invasion upon this Our 'Kingdom, and consequently to alienate the Hearts of such of 'Our loving Subjects from Us, who otherwise would readily yield 'unto Us that Aid and Assistance which by their Natural Alle-'giance they are bound to do: And whereas by the ancient 'Laws and Statutes of this Realm, great and heavy Penalties are 'inflicted upon all such as shall be found to be Spreaders of false 'News, or Promoters of any malicious Slanders and Calumnies

*October.* 'in their ordinary and common Discourse, or otherwise; and 'more especially upon such who shall utter, or publish any words 'or things to incite or stir up the People to hatred or dislike of 'Our Person, or the established Government: Notwithstanding 'which, there have been of late more bold and licencious Dis-'courses than formerly, and Men have assumed to themselves a 'liberty, not only in *Coffee-houses*, but in other Places and Meet-'ings both publick and private, to censure and defame the Pro-'ceedings of State, by speaking evil of things they understand 'not: We therefore considering that Offences of this nature pro-'ceed from the restless Malice of evil Persons, or from the care-'less Demeanour of others, who presume too much upon Our 'accustomed Clemency and Goodness, have therefore thought 'fit by this Our Royal Proclamation, by and with the Advice of 'Our Privy Council, streightly to forewarn, and command all 'Our Subjects of what estate or condition they be, that they pre-'sume not henceforth, either by Writing, Printing, or Speaking, 'to utter or publish any false News or Reports whatsoever, or to 'intermeddle with the Affairs of State or Government, or with 'the Persons of any of Our Counsellors or Ministers, in their 'common and ordinary Discourses, as they will answer the con-'trary at their utmost perils.

'And because all bold and irreverent Speeches touching mat-'ters of high nature, and all malicious and false Reports tending 'to Sedition, or to the Amusement of Our People, are punishable 'not only in the Speakers, but in the Hearers also, unless they do 'speedily reveal the same unto some of Our Privy-Council, or 'some other of Our Judges or Justices of the Peace: Therefore that 'all Persons may be left without excuse, who shall not hereafter 'contain themselves within that modest and dutiful Regard which 'becomes them, We do further declare, that We will proceed with 'all Severity and Rigor against all such Persons who shall be guil-'ty of any such malicious and unlawful Practices, by Writing, 'Printing, or other Publication of such false News and Reports, 'or who shall receive or hear the same without revealing or gi-'ving Information thereof, as aforesaid, in due time: We being 'resolved to suppress the said Enormities by a most strict and 'exemplary Punishment of all such Offenders, as shall hereafter 'be discovered. And We do hereby strictly charge and com-'mand all and singular Our Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs,

'Mayors,

'Mayors, Bailiffs, and all other Our Officers and Ministers what-
'soever, to take effectual care for the speedy Apprehension, Pro-
'secution, and severe Punishment of all such Persons who shall
'at any time hereafter be found Offenders herein. *October.*

This Proclamation rather increased the Aversion Men then generally had for the Government; and there were very few who did not presently reflect on *Father Petre*, who was then one of the Privy-Council, as fitter to be hang'd, than reverenc'd; but they were then under Hatches, and must comply, and for two or three days News was wondrous scarce; but then they fell to it again with so much the greater liberty, the publick hatred prevailing over their Fear, as the day of their wished Redemption grew nearer. But however, the Roman Catholicks from this time forward were studiously avoided, no Man fearing any trouble from any body else, as in truth I never heard of any Man that was prosecuted on this account.

The 28th. of *October* the Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from the Office of Principal Secretary of State, and the Lord Viscount *Preston* put in his room: This Change pleased all Men, but it came too late.

As the Cause of the Dismission of the Earl of *Sunderland* was then wholly unknown, so it gave occasion to the reviving a Report that had been spread not long before, upon the Imprisonment of Sir *Bevil Skelton* the *English* Ambassador in *France*, that there had lately been a League concluded between the King of *England* and *France*, for the Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion* here, and the establishing *Popery and Arbitrary Government*; to which end the *French* King was (as was said) to send a considerable Army, and great Sums of Money into *England*; and, as it was before pretended, that *Skelton* being a Protestant, had discovered this Transaction to the Prince of *Orange*: So it was now said, *Sunderland* had lost the Original League out of his *Scritore*, and that it was carried over to the Prince of *Orange*, who would produce it to the Parliament of *England*. But since that the Earl of *Sunderland* has published a Letter, wherein he has given a larger Account of the true Cause of his being laid aside, than is any where else to be met with; and therefore I think it reasonable to add it here.

*It is now well known that Sir* B. Skelton *was Imprison'd for having (as was pretended) given his consent to the* French Memorial, *recited pag. 5. without the knowledge of the* English Court, *which was shie of being thought so addicted to the* French *Interest, as is there expressed.*

*October.*

## *The Earl of* Sunderland's *Letter to a Friend in* London, *published* March 23d. 1689.

TO comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which we talked of before I left *England*. I have been in a Station of a great noise, without Power or Advantage whilst I was in it, and to my Ruine now I am out of it. I know I cannot justifie my self by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much Mischief; for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the Service; neither is it an Excuse, that I have got none of those things which usually engage Men in publick Affairs: My Quality is the same it ever was, and my Estate much worse, even ruin'd, tho' I was born to a very considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, tho' not so much as if I had encreased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: The pretence to a Dispensing Power being not only the first thing which was much disliked since the death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest. I ought to begin with that which I had so little to do with, that I never heard it spoken of till the time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, that the King told some of the Council, of which I was one, that he was resolved to give Employments to Roman Catholicks, it being fit that all Persons should serve who could be useful, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: That Party was so well pleased with what the King had done, that they perswaded him to mention it in his Speech at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates whether it was proper or not; in all which I opposed it, as is known to very considerable Persons, some of which were of another opinion; for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such offence to the Parliament, that it was thought necessary to Prorogue it; *after which, the King fell immediately to the supporting the Dispensing Power, the most Chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and must be so till the Government here is as absolute as in* Turkey, *all Power being included in that one.* This is the sense I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawyers defend it, I never changed my Opinion or Language; however it went on, most of the Judges being

being for it, and was the chief business of the State, till it was looked on as setled. Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which there being so many considerable men of several kinds, I could have but a small part; and that after Lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the High Commission Court, I can most truly say, and it is well known that for a good while I defended *Magdalen Colledge* purely by care and industry, and have hundreds of times begg'd of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the regular course of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which he often thought reasonable, and then by perpetual Importunities was prevailed upon against his own sense; which was the very case of *Magdalen Colledge*, as of some others. *October.*

These things which I endeavoured, though without Success, drew upon me the Anger and Ill-will of many about the King. The next thing to be tryed, was to take off the Penal Laws and the Tests, so many having promised their Concurrence towards it, that his Majesty thought it feasible: but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholicks desire it might be dissolved, which I was so much against, that they complained of me to the King, as a man who ruined all his Designs by opposing the only thing could carry them on: Liberty of Conscience being the Foundation on which he was to build. That it was first offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the work, even in the late King's time, if it had not been for his weakness, and the weakness of his Ministers: Yet I hindred the Dissolution several Weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in Being would do every thing he could desire, but the taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests, or the allowing his Dispensing Power, and that any other Parliament, tho' such a one could be had as was proposed, would probably never repeal those Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the support of the Government, whatever exigency it might be in. At that time the King of *Spain* was sick, upon which I said often to the King, that if he should die, it would be impossible for his Majesty to preserve the Peace of Christendom, that a War must be expected, and such a one as would chiefly concern *England*: and that if the present Parliament continued, he might be sure of all the help and service he could wish; but in case he dissolv'd it, he must give over all thoughts of foreign Affairs, for no other would ever assist him, but on such terms as would

*October.* would ruine the Monarchy; so that from abroad, or at home, he would be destroyed, if the Parliament were broken, and any accident should happen, of which there were many, to make the aid of his People necessary to him. This and much more I said to him several times privately, and in the hearing of others. But being over-power'd, the Parliament was broke, the Closetting went on, and a new one was to be chosen; who was to get by closetting, I need not say; but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them suffer'd, who I would fain have saved, and yet I must confess with grief, that when the King was resolv'd, and there was no remedy, I did not quit, as I ought to have done, but served on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midst of all the preparations for it; and whilst the Corporations were regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churches, of which I most solemnly protest, I never heard one word, till the King directed it in Council. That drew on the Petition of my Lord the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Bishops, and their Prosecution, which I was so openly against, that by arguing continually to shew the Injustice and the Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman Catholicks* upon me to such a degree, and so unanimously, that I was just sinking, and I wish I had then sunk; but whatever I did foolishly to preserve my self, I continued still to be the Object of their hatred, and I resolv'd to serve the publick as well as I could, which I am sure most of the considerable Protestants then at Court can testifie; and so can one very eminent man of the Country, whom I would have perswaded to come into business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the violence of those in power; but he despaired of being able to do any good, and therefore would not engage. Sometime after came the first News of the Prince's designs, which were not then look'd on as they have proved, no body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage; for the greatest thing which has been undertaken these thousand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till seen nearer hand. Upon the first thought of his coming I laid hold of the opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner; the chief of which were to restore *Magdalen Colledge*, and all other Ecclesiastical Preferments, which had been diverted from what

what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Bishop of *London*'s Suspension, to put the Counties into the same hands they were in some time before, to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore entirely all the Corporations of *England*. These things were done effectually by the help of some about the King: and it was then thought I had destroyed my self, by enraging again the whole *Roman* Catholick Party to such a height as had not been seen; they dispersed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him by perswading him to make such shameful Condescentions; but most of all by hindring the securing the chief of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Measures; and by advising his Majesty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon foreign Assistance. It is true I did give him those Counsels which were called weak, to the last moment he suffered me in his Service; then I was accused of holding Correspondence with the Prince, and it was every where said amongst them, That no better could be expected from a man so related as I was to the *Bedford* and *Leicester* Families, and so allied to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Marquis of *Halifax*. After this, Accusations of High Treason were brought against me, which, with some other reasons relating to Affairs abroad, drew the Kings displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all without any consideration, and yet I thought I escaped well, expecting nothing less than the loss of my head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwise; nor had it been otherwise, if my Disgrace had been deferred a day longer. All things being prepared for it, I was put out the 27th of *October*, the *Roman* Catholicks having been two Months working the King up to it, without intermission, besides the several Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unusual assistance they obtained to do what they thought so necessary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope then at that time, as may be remembred by any who were then at *London*. But you desired I would say something to you of *Ireland*, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true. *October.*

My Lord *Tyrconnel* has been so absolute there, that I never had the credit to make an Ensign, or keep one in, nor to preserve some of my Friends; for whom I was much concerned, from the last Oppression and Injustice, tho' I endeavour'd it to the utmost

of

*October.* of my power; but yet with care and diligence, being upon the place, and he absent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was designed to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Justice *Nugent*, and Baron *Rice* were sent over with a draught of an Act for that purpose, furnished with all the pressing Arguments could be thought on to perswade the King; and I was offered Forty thousand pounds for my Concurrence, which I told to the King, and shewed him at the same time the Injustice of what was proposed to him, and the prejudice it would be to that Country, with so good success, that he resolved not to think of it that year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by some Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin* who knows it to be true, and so do the Judges before-named, and several others.

I cannot omit saying something of *France*, there having been so much talk of a *League* between the two Kings. I do protest I never knew of any; and if there were such a thing, it was carried on by other sort of Men last Summer. Indeed *French* Ships were offered to join with our Fleet, and they were refused; since the noise of the Prince's design more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they should be commanded, if ever desired. I opposed to death the accepting of them, as well as any assistance of Men, and can say most truly, that I was the principal means of hindring both, by the help of some Lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation. If the Report is true, of Men, Ships, and Money intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon since I was out of business, or without my knowledge; if it had been otherwise, I believe no body thinks my Disgrace would have hapned. My greatest Misfortune has been to be thought the Promoter of those things I opposed and detested, whilst some I could name have been the Inventors and Contrivers of what they have had the Art to lay upon others; and I was often foolishly willing to bear what my Master would have done, tho' I used all possible Endeavours against it. I lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect on the occasion of them, the loose, negligent, unthinking life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts, by Pleasure, Idleness, the Vanity of the Court, or by Business: I hope, I say, that I shall overcome

all

all the diſorders my former life had brought upon me, and that I ſhall ſpend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God, that he will pleaſe either to put an end to my ſufferings, or to give me ſtrength to bear them; one of which he will certainly grant to ſuch as rely on him, which I hope I do, with the Submiſſion that becomes a good Chriſtian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think ſomething elſe to be the reaſon of it, beſides a true ſenſe of my Faults, and that obliges me to reſtrain my ſelf at preſent. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this account, but I cannot the doing of what you deſire of me. *October.*

The 29*th.* an Account was given, that the *Dutch* Fleet conſiſting of 52 Men of War, with a very numerous Attendance of Victuallers, and other Ships and Veſſels for the Tranſportation of the the Land Forces, Sailed the *Friday* before, which was the 19*th.* from the *Flats* near the *Briel*, with the Wind at S. W. and by S. and the Prince of *Orange* Embarkt on a Frigat of 28, or 30 Guns, and with him the Count of *Naſſau*, General of the Horſe, the Count *de Solmes*, Collonel of his Foot Guards; the Count *de Stirum*, the Sieur *Benting*, and the Sieur *Cuerkerker*, and the Marſhal *de Schomberg* went on Board ſuch another Frigat. And the 20*th.* moſt of the Fleet was ſeen in the Morning from *Schevelingue*, when the Wind coming more Weſterly, and the next Night proving very ſtormy, it obliged them to come in again, having ſuffered conſiderable damage, 400 Horſes being thrown over-board, and ſeveral dead men, and one of their Men of War was ſtranded, and another diſabled. *N. S.*

There was very little of this Story true, but it was a Report ſet on foot to deceive the Court here, and it had the effect which was expected, and the Prieſts began to boaſt very much of the Aſſiſtance they expected from the *Virgin Mary*, and the reſt of the Saints, who had been powerfully ſollicited to confound this Heretical Fleet. The firſt of *November* we were again told from the *Hague*, that the damage the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuſtain'd by the late Storms, was greater than was at firſt reported; That there were 1500 Horſes dead or unſerviceable, That the Prince of *Orange* had loſt moſt of his own Horſes, and the Marſhal *de Schomberg* the beſt of his; That his Son Count *Charles Schomberg* was in great danger, the Ship he was in having ſpent her main Maſt; That a Captain of Horſe in the Sieur *Benting*'s Regiment was miſ-

*October.* ſing, with his whole Troop; and two Captains of Foot Guards were likewiſe miſſing with their Companies; That to ſupply theſe loſſes a great many freſh Horſes were ordered to be ſent to the Fleet; and that it was ſaid the Regiment of the Baron *de Frizes* ſhould be imbarkt; That in the mean time the Prince of *Orange* continued at *Helvoetſluys*, intending to ſail again ſo ſoon as the Fleet was in a condition, and the Weather would permit. Thus was our Court at that time impoſed upon for want of good intelligence.

About this time a parcel of the Prince of *Orange*'s Declarations were intercepted in *London*, upon reading that expreſſion in it, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited hither by divers of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and others.* The King ſent for ſome of the Biſhops again, and required of them a Paper under their hands in abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion by ſuch a day; the following Declaration was then in the Preſs, and this Abhorrence was deſigned to be tacked to it; but the Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rocheſter* (on whom only this Storm fell) refuſed to do it, as contrary to their priviledge of Peerage, and their Profeſſion in promoting a War againſt a Prince ſo near ally'd to the Crown; and they earneſtly deſired this might be left to a Free Parliament. His Majeſty hereupon was very much incenſed againſt them, and parted from them with indignation. *And thereupon the Jeſuited Party at Court were ſo violently enraged, that as we are credibly informed* (ſaith the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) *one of the chief adviſed in a heat, they ſhould all be impriſoned, and the Truth extorted from them by violence.* By which it appears, no Solicitation could force the King to yield to the ſitting of a Parliament, whatever hazard he ran.

Second Letter, *pag.* 49.

*Novemb.* The 2*d.* day of *November* there was publiſhed another Proclamation for the ſuppreſſing of the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration.

WHereas *the* Prince of Orange *and his Adherents, who deſign forthwith to invade Our Kingdoms, in order thereunto have contrived and framed ſeveral Treaſonable Papers and Declarations, hoping thereby to ſeduce Our People, and* (*if it were poſſible*) *to corrupt our Army, a very great number whereof being Printed, ſeveral perſons are ſent and imployed to diſperſe the ſame throughout Our Kingdoms: And altho all perſons* (*as well in Criminal as in other Caſes*) *are bound*

to

*to take notice of the Laws at their peril; yet to the intent that none may think to eſcape due puniſhment, or to excuſe themſelves when they ſhall be detected, by pretending Ignorance of the Nature of their Crime, We are graciouſly pleaſed by this Our Royal Proclamation publiſhed, by the Advice of our Privy-Council, to forewarn and admoniſh all Our Subjects of what degree or quality ſoever, that they do not publiſh or diſperſe, repeat or hand about the ſaid Treaſonable Papers or Declarations, or any of them, or any other Paper or Papers of ſuch like nature, without diſcovering and revealing the ſame as ſpeedily as may be to ſome of Our Privy-Council, or ſome of Our Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, or publick Magiſtrates, upon peril of being proſecuted according to the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law.* Novemb

This Proclamation had the ſame effect with all the reſt of their Counſels, for men ſuſpected thereupon, that there was much more in the Declarations and Papers than they afterwards found, and accordingly became more deſirous by far to ſee it; and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here in *London* gave them (as I have been credibly informed) to whoſoever deſired them.

For about almoſt three Weeks together the Wind ſtood perpetually Weſt; during all which time the common queſtion was every morning, *Where is the Wind to day?* And a Seaman was obſerved to curſe the Dragon in *Cheapſide*, for turning his Head where his Tail ſhould be. But in the latter end of *October* the Wind came Eaſt, to the great Sorrow of the Roman Catholicks, and the Joy of the reſt of the Nation And when all men expected the Invaſion would fall on the North, the third of *November* between ten and eleven of the Clock the *Dutch* Fleet was diſcovered about half Seas over, between *Calice* and *Dover*, and about five this numerous Fleet was paſſed by that Town, ſteering a Channel-courſe Weſtward, the Wind at Eaſt North-Eaſt, a freſh Gale.

Tha ſame day Captain *Aylmer*, Commander of the *Swallow*, brought into the *Downs* a Fly-boat belonging to this Fleet, which had on board four Companies of the Foot of Collonel *Babington*'s Regiment commanded by Major *Colambine*. They ſaid the Prince ſail'd from *Goree* on *Thurſday* the firſt of *November*. This Ship had the misfortune to ſtrike upon a Sand which had torn off her Rudder, without doing her any other damage, ſo that ſhe was forced to float as the Winds and Seas drove her, and could hold

*Novemb.* no Courſe, which was the cauſe of her being taken: And this ſmall piece of good Fortune turn'd to their diſadvantage, men, from the number taken in this Ship, concluding that the *Dutch* Army was three times as great, as it really was.

The 4*th.* day being *Sunday*, and the birth day of the Prince of *Orange*, the Fleet Drove till Four in the afternoon; the Morning being Spent in Sermons, and other Divine offices: And then it ſailed again to the Weſt-ward.

By this time they found that the Prince of *Orange* his Declaration could not be totally ſuppreſs'd; and thereupon one of the Scribling Jeſuits put out a Pamphlet againſt it, intituled, *The Dutch Deſign Anatomized, or the Diſcovery of the Wickedneſs and Unjuſtice of the intended Invaſion, and a clear Proof, That it is the Intereſt of all the King's Subjects to defend his Majeſty and their Country againſt it.* This Author has the Confidence to tell us, *That the forged Heads of the Prince's Declaration, and the* Biſhops Ten Propoſals, *are known to be the Contrivance of the King's Enemies, framed on purpoſe to amuſe the People, and make them believe the ſetting us at rights is the only deſign of the* Dutch; *and till thoſe Propoſals be granted, we are not ſafe* (pag. 29.) So that if the deſign had miſcarried, not only the Redreſs of thoſe Grievances was utterly to be diſpaired of, but thoſe that had made them to preſerve the King from ruin, were already arraigned for his Enemies, and accordingly to be treated. Page the 39. *If* (ſaith he) *out of peeviſh ſtubbornneſs ſome will ſit ſtill, and not aſſiſt the King in this Juncture, or trayterouſly joyn with the Invaders, what can they expect from his victorious Arms, but the puniſhment due to their Perfidiouſneſs and Cowardice.* So that here was no Mercy for any but thoſe who were very active in the ruin of the Invaders; and by what followed upon the Defeat of the late Duke of *Monmouth*, all men were able to make an Eſtimate what would be our Deſtiny now.

Another of the ſame Party comes forth ſoon after in Print, under the Title of *Reflections upon his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration*; but then neither of theſe were ſuffered to print the Declaration it ſelf, and therefore what they ſaid of it, was neither regarded, nor believed by any of the Proteſtants, and ſerved only to exaſperate the Nation the more againſt them.

The 5th of *November* the *Dutch* Fleet paſſed by *Dartmouth*, and it being a hazy foggy Morning, and full of Rain, they over-ſhot *Torbay* where the Prince intended to land, but about nine of the Clock

Clock the Weather cleared up, and the Wind changed W. S. W. and the Fleet ſtood Eaſtward, with a moderate Gale, entring *Torbay*, and being then about 4 or 500 Sail in Number. This Change of the Wind was obſerved by Dr. *Burnet* to have been of no long duration, but immediately it chopped into another Corner, when it had executed its Commiſſion. *Novemb.*

Whilſt the Prince was buſie Landing his Army in the Weſt, the King puts out here the 6th. of *November* this following *Declaration*.

AS *We cannot conſider this Invaſion of Our Kingdoms by the Prince of* Orange, *without Horror, for ſo unchriſtian and unnatural an Undertaking, in a Perſon ſo nearly related to Us; ſo it is Mattor of the greateſt Trouble and Concern to Us, to reflect upon the many Miſchiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels muſt unavoidably bring upon Our People. It is but too evident, by a late Declaration publiſhed by him, That notwithſtanding the many ſpecious and plauſible Pretences it carries,* His Deſigns at the bottom do tend to nothing leſs than an Abſolute Uſurping of Our Crown and Royal Authority: *As may fully appear by his aſſuming to himſelf in the ſaid Declaration the Regal Style, requiring the Peers of this Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Perſons of all Degrees, to obey and aſſiſt him in the Execution of his Deſigns; a Prerogative inſeparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing can ſatisfie but the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Crown it ſelf, he calls in queſtion the Legitimacy of the Prince of* Wales, *Our Son, and Heir apparent*; Tho by the Providence of God, there were preſent at his Birth ſo many Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Credit, as if it ſeem'd to have been the particulare Care of Heaven on purpoſe to diſappoint ſo wicked and unparallell'd an Attempt.

*And in order to the effecting of his Ambitious Deſigns, he ſeems deſirous in the Cloſe of his Declaration to ſubmit all to the Determination of a Free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with Our People; though nothing is more evident, than that a Parliament cannot be* Free, *ſo long as there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of Our Kingdoms; ſo that in truth he himſelf is the ſole Obſtructer of ſuch a Free Parliament: We being fully reſolved, as We have already declared, ſo ſoon as by the Bleſſing of God Our Kingdoms ſhall be delivered from this Invaſion, to call a Parliament, which can no longer be liable*

*Novemb.* *ble to the leaſt Objection of not being freely choſen, ſince We have actually reſtored all the Burroughs and Corporations of this Our Kingdom to their Ancient Rights and Priviledges, in which we ſhall be ready not only to receive and redreſs all the Juſt Complaints and Grievances of Our Good Subjects, but alſo to repeat and confirm the Aſſurances We have already given to them in Our ſeveral* Declarations, *of Our Reſolution by God's Bleſſing to mantain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and all other their Juſt Rights and Priviledges whatſoever. Upon theſe Conſiderations, and the Obligations of their Duty and Natural Allegiance, we can no ways doubt, but that all our Faithful and Loving Subjects will readily and heartily concur and joyn with Us in the entire Suppreſſing and Repelling of thoſe Our Enemies, and Rebellious Subjects, who have ſo injuriouſly and diſloyally invaded and diſturbed the Peace and Tranquility of theſe Our Kingdoms.*

All this while the Prince's Declaration was kept in, and few had ſeen it; but Men had now a general Idea of it. This Declaration in the mean time was pleaſing to very few. It was penn'd with too much Spleen and Paſſion, to create ſuitable Thoughts in the Hearts of thoſe who had leſs Intereſt in the Defeat of the Prince's Army than the R. C's had. The Birth of the Prince of *Wales* being thus worded, made Men ſmile; and they could preſently recollect the Force and Value of the Depoſers Evidence, which had now been ſome time publiſhed; but then nothing diſguſted the Generality of Men more, than to ſee the King continue ſo averſe to the holding a Parliament, till the Prince was expell'd out of the Nation, the Conſequence of which was nororious. To what end, ſaid they, ſhould we fight, when the Prince of *Orange* offereth at firſt to ſubmit to a Free Parliament? What, ſhall we drive him out, that we may never have one that ſhall ſit to do us good? Are the Jeſuits ſuch Reverers of Promiſes, as to regard them when they can chuſe? No, let us have a Parliament while the Prince is here to ſee us have Right, or fight who will for me.

The 5th. day of *November* an Account was ſent from *Brixham*, That about 300 of the *Dutch* Fleet were come into *Torbay*; ſeveral of which came directly to *Brixham* Key, and Landed ſome Souldiers; and the reſt were ſending them on Shore in Boats, about 5 or 600 being then Landed; and it was then ſaid, the Prince of *Orange* was come on Shore.

This

This Fleet conſiſted of 51 Men of War, 18 Fire ſhips, and 330 Tenders, for the carriage of Men, Horſes, Arms, and Ammunition: At his firſt Attempt he loſt 400 Horſe in a Storm, and a Veſſel was ſeparated with 400 Foot, which after came back to the *Texel*. Hereupon order was given to the *Harlem* and *Amſterdam* Gazetteers to make a dreadful Repreſentation of this Loſs, which had its effect upon our credulous Court. The Fleet was ſoon got in order again, and ſailed the firſt of *November*: There lay then an *Engliſh* Fleet in the *Buoy* and *Nore*, conſiſting of 34 Sail of Men of War; and there were three in the *Downs*; but the Wind was at E. N. E. and ſo they could not get out, and they had no mind beſides to do it. At his Landing the People in great numbers from the Shore welcom'd his Highneſs with loud Acclamations of Joy. The firſt that Landed were ſix Regiments of *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, under *Mackay*, who met with no oppoſition, but a hearty Welcome, with all manner of Refreſhments. Thus the 5th. 6th. and 7th. of *November* were employed in Landing the Army, the Country-men bringing them in Proviſions in great plenty. *Novemb.* 5 6 7

The 6th. of *November* an Account was ſent from *Exeter*, That the Prince of *Orange* was marching towards that City; and they being in no Condition to oppoſe him, the Biſhop of that Dioceſs thought fit to leave the Town, and to go to *London*; which ſo pleaſed the King, that he ordered him to be Tranſlated to the See of *York*, which was then vacant, the 16th. of *November*.

*November* the 17th. the King publiſhed this Account of the Forces brought over by the Prince of *Orange*.

| *Horſe.* | *Foot.* | *Companies.* |
|---|---|---|
| The Life-Guard. | Foot-Guards under Count *Solmes*, 2000 | 25 |
| Regiment of Guards Commanded by *Benting*. | *Mackay* | 12 |
| *Waldeck*'s Regiment. | *Balfort* | 12 |
| *Naſſaw*. | *Talmaſh* | 12 |
| *Mompellian*. | *Belliſes* | 12 |
| *Ginckel*. | *Waſhops* | 12 |
| Count *Vander Lip*. | *Oſſories* | 10 |
| The Princes Dragoons. | *Berkevelt* | 10 |
| *Marrewis* Dragoons. | *Holſtein* | 10 |
| *Sgravemoer*. | *Wirtemberg* | 12 |

*Sapbroeck*

*Novemb.* *Horſe.*

*Sapbroeck.*
*Folddorp.*
*Seyde.*
*Suyleſtein.*

In all,

| | |
|---|---|
| Troopers | 1683 |
| Life-Guard | 197 |
| *Benting's* | 480 |
| Princes Dragoons | 860 |
| *Marrewis* | 440 |
| | 3660 |

| *Foot.* | *Companies.* |
|---|---|
| *Fagel* | 10 |
| *Naſſaw* | 10 |
| *Carelſon* | 12 |
| *Brander* | 10 |
| Prince of *Berkevelt* | 10 |

In all 164 Companies, at 53 in a Company 8692

Guards 2000

10692

| | |
|---|---|
| Horſe | 3660 |
| Foot | 10692 |
| | 14352 |

*Liſt of the Fleet.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Men of War | 65 |
| Fly-boats | 500 |
| *Pinks* | 60 |
| Fire ſhips | 10 |
| In all | 635 |

However Men were not eaſily then induced to believe, that this was above one half of the Number brought over; they concluding from the Number of Ships, and the Companies taken in the Fly-boat by the *Swallow* Frigat, that the Army muſt be at leaſt double to this Number; though afterwards it appeared to be very near a true Account.

It has been deſired that an exact Account of the then Engliſh Forces by Sea and Land, ſhould be ſet forth for the ſatisfaction of all men, but the Author of this Hiſtory, being a very private Gent. is not able to do this any otherwiſe, than by ſhewing the State of the Army in the foregoing Summer, which is as followeth,

The

The first Troop of Horse Guards commanded by *Lewis* Earl of *Feversham*.
The first Troop of Granadiers under Captain *Thomas Gray*.
The second Troop of Guards under the Duke of *Northumberland*.
The second Troop of Granadiers under Captain *Rich. Potter*.
The third Troop of Guards Commanded by *John* Lord *Church-hill*.
The third Troop of Granadiers under Captain *John Vaughan*.
The fourth Troop of Guards Commanded by *Henry* Lord *Dover*.
The fourth Troop of Granadiers, under Capt. *Henry Lutterel*.
The four Troops of Guards make 800.
Each Troop of Granadiers is 60 men, 240.

1. The Kings Regiment of Foot Guards Commanded by the Duke of *Grafton*.
2. The Coldstreame Regiment under *Will.* Earl of *Graven*.
3. The Holland Regiment under the Earl of *Mulgrave*.
1. The Regiment of Horse, call'd the Royal Regiment, under the Earl of *Oxford*, afterward under the Duke of *Berwick* consisting of 9 Troops, each of 50 private men. 450
2. The Queens Regiment under Sir *John Lanier*. 450.
3. The Earl of *Peterboroughs*. *Novemb.*
4. The Earl of *Plimouth's*, afterwards Sir *John Fenwicks'*.
5. Major General *Werdens*.
6. The Earl of *Arran's*.
7. The Earl of *Shrewsbury's*, afterwards Collonel *Hamiltons*.
8. The Princess *Ann* of *Denmarks* Commanded by the Earl of *Scarsdale*, afterwards by the Duke of St. *Albans*.

The Queen *Dowager's* Regiment under Sir *John Talbot*.

Three Regiments of Dragoons each of Eight Troops, and the Troops of 50 men.

1. The Royal Regiment under Lord *Cornbury*.
2. The Queens Regiment under the Duke of *Somerset*, afterwards under Collonel *Cannon*.
3. The Princess *Ann's* Regiment under Collonel *John Berkeley*.

There were 14 old Regiments of Foot.

1. The Royal Regiment of Foot, under the Earl of *Dumbarton*.
2. The Queen *Dowagers* under *Piercy Kirk*.
3. Prince *George's* Regiment, Commanded by *Charles Littleton*.
4. The *Holland* Regiment, Commanded by *Theo. Oglethorpe*.

*Novemb.* 1688

5. The Queens Regiment command by Collonel *Charles Trelawney.*
6. The Royal Regiment of *Fuſiliers* under the Lord *Dartmouth.*
7. The Princeſs *Ann's* Regiment under Mr. *Fitz James.*
8. Was Commanded by *Henry Cornwal.*
9. *John* Earl of *Bath.*
10. *Charles* Marquiſs of *Worceſters,* afterwards the Lord *Montgomery's.*
11. *Henry* Earl of *Litchfield.*
12. *Theophilus* Earl of *Huntington.*
13. Sir *Edward Hales.*
14. Collonel *Arthur Herbert's,* afterwards Collonel *Tuſton's.*

## In GARRISON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| At *Berwick* | 4 Companies | *Pendeniz* | 5 |
| *Carlile* | 1 | *Plimouth* | 13 |
| *Chepſtow* | 1 | *Portſmouth* | 23 |
| *Cheſter* | 5 | Horſe | 1 |
| *Dover* | 5 | *Sandown* Caſtle | 1 |
| *Graveſend* and *Tilbury* | 5 | *Sherneſs* | 2 |
| *Gevernſey* | 1 | *Scilly* Iſle | 1 |
| *Holy Iſland* | 1 | *Scarborough* | 1 |
| *Hull* | 8 | *Tinmouth* Caſtle | 1 |
| *Hurſt* Caſtle | 1 | Tower of *London* | 8 |
| *Jerſey* | 3 | *Upner* Caſtle | 1 |
| *Landguard* Fort | 1 | Iſle of *Wight* | 4 |
| St. *Mawz* | 1 | *Windſor* Caſtle | 2 |
| | | *York* | 2 |

The third day of *November* the King gave Order to the Lord *Brandon,* and the Marquiſs *de Miremont,* Collonel *Slingsby,* Sir *John Holman,* and the Earl of *Salisbury,* to raiſe each a Regiment of Horſe.

And alſo to raiſe theſe Regiments of Foot, to be Commanded by the Duke of *Newcaſtle,* Collonel *Gage,* Collonel *Richards,* Collonel *Skelton,* Collonel *Carne,* Collonel *Jo. Hall,* Collonel *Walcup,* Collonel *Elligott.*

There was alſo a great Body of the Iriſh Nation, which was the Flower of that Army, Conſiſting of three Regiments.

Beſides there were then ſix Regiments of Horſe and Foot call'd out of *Scotland,* and there were 17 men added to each company of the Old Forces upon the firſt certain intelligence of the Dutch

Dutch deſign againſt *England*, ſo that the Army was much greater then, than it was in the Camp the Summer before. *Novemb*

And there was a Fleet which the 23*th.* of *November* conſiſted in 43 Sail of Ships.

If to all this is added the Trained-Bands of each County amounting to 80000 men at the leaſt, Horſe and Foot, the revolution which followed, may well be eſteemed one of the ſtrangeſt that ever happened, a Prince ſo famed for Valour as *James* the II. and a party ſo fluſhed with hopes, being in the ſpace of thirty eight days reduced to nothing, with the loſs only of about Ten men on the Princes ſide.

*November* the 8th. the Prince went from *Chudleigh* towards *Exeter*, where he arrived about One of the Clock, and made a very ſplendid Entry with his Army, the People much rejoycing at it, and looking upon him as their Deliverer from Popery and Slavery. That Night the Prince lodged at the Deanry, the Dean as well as the Biſhop having left the Town.

The 9*th.* Dr. *Burnet* was ſent to order the Prieſt and Vicars of the Cathedral not to pray for the pretended *Prince of Wales*, which they would not comply with till they were ſeverely threatned. The ſame day the Prince went to the Cathedral, and was preſent at the ſinging *Te Deum*, after which his Declaration was publickly read to the people.

The ſame day the late King publiſhed this Order.

FOR *the more punctual and regular payment of Quarters in the March of Our Forces, We do hereby ſtrictly charge and require, That upon the Arrival of any Regiment, Troop, or Company, in any Town or Village, publication be immediately made by Beat of Drum or otherwiſe, and Notice given to the Chief Magiſtrate, or Civil Officer of Our pleaſure, That all Officers and private Souldiers ſhall duly pay their Quarters, and that ſuch Chief Magiſtrate or Civil Officer do the next Morning come to the place where ſuch Regiment, Troop, or Company is drawn up before their March, and make their Complaint to the Commander in Chief of any wrong done, or Quarters left unpaid: Whereupon our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That ſuch Commander in Chief ſhall cauſe ſatisfaction to be made to the party injured, and the Debt to be paid. And if any Commander in Chief ſhall fail therein, We do hereby declare Our Reſolution upon Complaint to to puniſh ſuch Commander in Chief, by Caſhiering or otherwiſe, and*

*Novemb.* *to cause such Injury to be redressed, and the Debt to be duly satisfied without delay.*

The Souldiery had lived with very little Discipline in the Times of peace; and now the War was opening, became more Insolent: So that the ill observing this Order, was one of those things which tended as much as any thing to the Ruin of that Army, they being reduced to a great Want of all Necessaries by the people, who feared their payment, and hated both them and the Cause they were embarked in.

About the same time there was published a very advantagious *Character* of the Prince of *Orange*, which was greedily read, and industriously spread under hand.

The Prince continued three days at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentry or Nobility appeared for him, which caused a great Wonder in his Army, and was published here the 18*th.* we being told, that some of the Rabble listed themselves for him, and had Arms given them; but the Mayor and Clergy of the City stood their Ground.

The 11*th.* of *November* the King published an Account, That the Enemy seised all the Kings Mony was found in the *West*, and that they had taken 300 *l.* from the Collector of the *Excise* at *Exeter*, and committed the Officer to Custody; and that not one person of Quality was yet come in to them. This last was again confirm'd by another Express the next day.

The 13*th.* an Account came from *Cirencester*, That the Lord *Lovelace* going to the Prince with between 60 and 70 Horse, was there seised by the Militia, by Order of the Duke of *Beaufort*, with about 13 of the party, one Major *Lorege* being slain in the Action, together with his Son, Captain *Lee*, and Leiutenant *Williams*, and six Common Souldiers wounded; but notwithstanding this Resistance, the Lord *Lovelace* was at last forced to yield, and secured by the Duke of *Beaufort*; and this was very acceptable News at *Whitehall*, but the Joy was short, and not well founded.

The 14*th.* there came an Account from *Salisbury*, That upon the 12*th.* the Lord *Cornbury* pretending to have received Orders from his Majesty, caused the Royal Regiment of Horse, the Royal Regiment of Dragoons whereof he was Collonel, and the

the Duke of *St. Albans* Regiment of Horse commanded by Colonel *Langston*, to march from *Salisbury* to *Dorchester*, where they refreshed themselves, and then they went to *Bridport* and *Axminster*. Several of the Officers thereupon apprehending some Design, asked the Lord *Cornbury*, as was said, whither they were going? Who answered, To beat up the Enemies Quarters at *Honiton*: But he finding the Royal Regiment of Horse, and several Officers of the Dragoons, did more and more suspect him, he marched with those that would follow him towards *Honiton*, *Langston* going before with the Regiment of *St. Albans*; but the Royal Regiment of Horse, and several of the Dragoons, return'd to *Bridport*. And the same day the Earl of *Feversham* came to *Salisbury*, to Command the Forces in Chief. The next day these Regiments return'd from *Bridport* to *Salisbury*, and we were told, there was not ten Troopers of the Royal Regiment wanting; *which sufficiently shew how firm they were in their Fidelity to his Majesty:* But notwithstanding this Flourish, this News caused a great Consternation at *Whitehall*. *Novemb.*

The 16th. there was published a Proclamation to prohibit the keeping of *Exeter* Fair, and other Fairs thereabouts, because many on that pretence went over to the Prince of *Orange*.

The same day the Reverend Dr. *Lamplu*, then Bishop of *Exeter*, was Translated to the Archbishoprick of *York*, and Dr. *Trelawny* from the See of *Bristol* to that of *Exeter*: And his Majesty also ordered a Publick Collection to be made thorow the City of *London*, the Liberties and Suburbs thereof, for the Relief of the poor and distressed Inhabitants of the City, who were by the Distractions of the Times, and the Interruption of Trade, reduced to great Want and Misery.

The 17th. of *November* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Archbishop of *York* Elect, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, presented this Petition to the King.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE *Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, in a deep sense of the Miseries of a War now breaking forth in the Bowels of this Your Kingdom, and of the Danger to which Your Majesties Sacred Person is thereby like to be exposed, as also of the Distractions of Your People, by reason of their present* Grievances, *do think our Selves bound in Conscience of the Duty we owe to God and our Holy Religion,*

*Novemb.* *gion, to Your Majesty and our Country, most humbly to offer to Your Majesty, That in our Opinion, the only visible way to preserve Your Majesty, and this Your Kingdom, would be the Calling a Parliament, Regular and Free in all its Circumstances.*

*We therefore most earnestly beseech Your Majesty, That You would be graciously pleased with all speed to call such a Parliament; wherein we shall be most ready to promote such Counsels and Resolutions of Peace and Settlement in Church and State, as may conduce to Your Majesties Honour and Safety, and to the quieting of the Minds of Your People.*

*We do likewise humbly beseech Your Majesty, in the mean time to use* * *such Means for the preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood, as to Your Majesty shall seem most meet.*

* The meanshere hinted at was a Treaty with the *Prince*, and the Nobility and Gentry who had Declared for him.

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|---|---|---|---|
| W. Cant. | Clarendon. | Nom. Ebor. | T. Oxon. |
| Grafton. | Burlington. | W. Asaph. | Paget. |
| Ormond. | Angleſey. | F. Ely. | Chandois. |
| Dorset. | Rochester. | Tho. Roffen. | Osulston. |
| Clare. | Newport. | Tho. Petriburg. | |

It was said there was a sharp Answer given to this excellent Petition, which was the Sense of all the King's Friends in the Nation, except a few desperate Men, whose Crimes had rendred them uncapable of the Mercy of a Parliament, and some others who designed the Ruin of the *English* Liberties and Religion, with the utmost hazard of the King and Kingdom.

The same day in the Afternoon the King left the City, and with his Royal Highness Prince *George* of *Denmark* went to *Windsor*, and the next Morning he went to *Salisbury*; appointing in his absence the Privy-Council to meet for the Dispatch of all Affairs as occasion should require.

The 19th. of *November* the Lords for their own Vindication published the Petition afore-represented; and the next day the King's Answer to it was printed also, which was this.

His Majesties most Gracious Answer.

My Lords,

*WHat you ask of Me, I most passionately desire; and I promise you UPON THE FAITH OF A KING, That I will have a Parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon* as ever the Prince of

of Orange has quitted this Realm: *For how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its Circumstances, as you Petition for, whilst an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near an hundred Voices?* Novemb. 5 & 6

This was sufficiently disobliging, considering the State of Affairs, and the Temper of the Nation at that time; but the *Jesuits* were so enraged at the printing the Petition, that they published a paper with this Title, *Some Reflections upon the Humble Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who subscribed the same, presented* November 17th. 1688. which follows in these words.

THat the *Peace-makers* are *blessed*, is a Truth our Saviour hath left recorded in the holy Scriptures, and those are truly to be honoured, who can contribute any thing to so happy a work: But that either this way of Petitioning, or the matter in it desired, is likely to produce so great a Blessing, is a Question worthy thy serious Consideration.

I shall first therefore take notice of some of the dubious Expressions in the Petition, and then lay down some few Reasons why I judge the Petition in it self unseasonable; and lastly endeavour to shew how unpracticable the summoning of a Parliament is at this present.

The Expression, *That a War is now breaking forth in the Bowels of the Kingdom*, shews, that their 'Lordships either know or fore-'see that a Civil War is fomenting; and I pray God this Petition 'do not, more then any thing else, occasion it; or that the *Prince of Orange* intends to carry on the War through the Bowels of the Kingdom, whereas those that wish well to the King, hope it will be kept in and about the parts where he landed.

*Secondly*, As to *the distraction of the People under their present Grievances*; it seems to many true Members of the Church of *England*, that it had been every whit as agreeable to your Lordships Character to have rather thank'd his Majesty for his late extraordinary and gracious Favours, then to have amus'd the Subjects at this time with the Apprehensions of *Grievances*, without any intimation what they were; for it is most manifest, that by such remonstrating of Grievances, the People were instigated to that bloody Rebellion in 1641.

As

*Novemb.* As to the Expression, that your Lordships *think your selves bound in Conscience* of the Duty you owe to God and our holy Religion, and to his Majesty and our Country, *most humbly to offer to his Majesty, that in your opinion the* ONLY *visible way to preserve his Majesty and his Kingdom, would be the calling of a Parliament regular and free in all its Circumstances.* I hope to make out, that the summoning of a Parliament now, is so far from being the *Only* way to effect these things, that it will be one of the principal 'causes of much Misery to the Kingdom; and I am sure both 'our Duty to God and *our holy Religion*, as well as to *his Majesty* and 'our Country, doth plainly enjoyn us to use *One* other effectual 'means to obviate the Miseries of a Civil or Invasive War; which 'is, the keeping inviolably our Allegiance to our Soveraign, and 'effectually joyning with him to resist all his Enemies, whether 'Foreign Aggressors, or Native Rebels: And it is much to be wondred at, that this Duty, so well known to your Lordships, should never be mention'd.

As to the *Regular and Free Parliament in all its Circumstances*, I shall now proceed to prove, that at this Season all our Wishes for such a one are impotent, and must be ineffectual.

*First*, It is a known Truth, and sadly experienced, That whenever the People are in a great Ferment, and contrary Parties are bandying one against another, the giving liberty to the People to meet in great Bodies, is dangerous to the Government; and you your selves not long since were of that opinion, when you oppos'd the vehement Addresses to King *Charles* II. for summoning a Parliament, when he judged it would strengthen the Faction against him; and you very well know, what great heats were among the Members, and unreasonable Votes were pass'd against the Lineal Succession, and other matters endangering the Government, the King was obliged to prorogue some Parliaments from time to time, that such separation might produce more sober Counsels: And then the great cry was, That for the Preservation of the King's Person and our Religion, they were so earnest to have a Parliament meet.

*Secondly*, 'It is impossible there can be a Regular and Free Ele'ction, while the Electors are so violently divided; one part of 'them being so vehement Wishers of the Success of the *Prince of* 'Orange, that they slight all the Miseries that unavoidably will 'fall on the Country thereby, upon the bare hope that he will

'preserve

'preſerve *Religion* and *Property*. Now in ſuch a time as this, when, *Novemb.* 'if we will give credit to the *Prince's Declaration*, there are ſo 'many that have invited him, can it be ſafe for the King to grant 'a Commiſſion, even to the People, to aſſemble in ſuch great 'Confluxes, as may afford them opportunity of liſting themſelves 'againſt him?

*Thirdly*, If we yield that Elections can be without outragious Routs; yet when the Parliament is met, it is requiſite by the very Conſtitution, that every part of that Auguſt Aſſembly ſhould be free in their Aſſent or Diſſent to what is to be debated; and that Freedom is as fundamentally neceſſary in the perſon of the King, as in the Members of either Houſes, and that one of the proper and neceſſary Circumſtances of that Convention ought to be, that all the Members ſhall be preſent. I ſhall therefore ſhew, that at this time none of theſe can be practicable:

*Firſt*, As to the King: While ſuch powerful Enemies are in the Country, and ſo many ready to catch any opportunity to joyn with them, how can the King be abſent from his Army? The providing for, cheriſhing, animating, and ordering of which, will ſufficiently employ the moſt indefatigable of Princes. And none can think that any Prince can watch the motions of ſuch an Enemy, and time his opportunities of aſſaulting them, or defending himſelf, and at the ſame time be embaraſs'd with a party in the Houſes, that may as dangerouſly be levelling their Votes againſt him, as the Invaders are their Artillery.

However there can be no freedom to the King, how undaunted ſoever, becauſe the impending Storm may ſo affright his Council, that they may adviſe to the yielding of ſome things that may be of ill conſequence to the Government; for whatever leſſens the Kighs juſt prerogative, as this may do, in depriving him of exerciſing his Negative Voice, is at one time or other prejudicial to his Subjects.

*Secondly*, As to the Lords: There can be no free Convention of them, ſince ſeveral of them have ſo far forgot their Allegiance, that they are actually in the *Prince of Orange*'s Army, and many other Lords are attending the King, and their Charges; ſo that while theſe Armies are in being, they cannot meet in their 'Houſe but by their Proxies; which I ſuppoſe none can expect 'will be allowed to the Peers that are in Rebellion, if we may be 'allowed to call that ſuch, which all our Laws ſo adjudgeth.

*Novemb.* 1688 The like may be ſaid for the Houſe of Commons: All the Gentlemen of Intereſt in their Country, by their Allegiance are bound to ſerve the King in his Wars at his Command, and will be few enough to keep their reſpective Counties in peace. And I am confident none will think ſuch a Parliament, as this ought to be that is deſir'd, ſhould conſiſt of ſuch who have been little converſant in publick Affairs, or have ſmall Intereſts in their Counties.

So, that upon the whole, I cannot ſee how any Free Parliament can meet, unleſs it be ſuch a Convention as the *Saxons* obtained of the *Britains* on *Salisbury Plains*, where the eminenteſt of both people were to meet unarmed, and there amicably adjuſt matters in difference; but it is well known, that the *Saxons* under their long Coats had their Weapons, wherewith they ſlew the Flower of the *Britiſh* Nobility, and thereby rendred their Conqueſt more eaſie.

It is true, ſuch a Stratagem is not now like to *take* effect, *but the King and thoſe that wiſh well to the Succeſſion of the Monarchy, and the preſervation of their Country, muſt needs fear, that there will be as dangerous Conteſts within the Houſes, as may be in the open Fields*; and thereby little can be expected from ſuch a Parliament, which can redound to the publick good of the Kingdom.

*Fourthly*, Thoſe Spiritual and Temporal Lords that have ſigned this Petition, either have not, or they have conſulted the Prince of *Orange*, before they propoſed this Advice.

If they have not conſulted him, they ought to ſatisfie the King how they can warrant a Ceſſation of Arms on the Prince's ſide, or how they can hinder him from advancing further to awe Debates in the Houſes, or what aſſurance they can give, that he will acquieſce in the free Deciſion of the matters propoſed, or that he will peaceably depart out of the Land, when things are ſettled, and will not pretend a ſtay here, till the vaſt Sums be paid him that he hath expended on this occaſion; or laſtly, will not find new occaſions of queſtioning the ſecurity of performance of any Agreement to be made.

If they have conſulted the Prince, they ought to ſhew his Commiſſion, Authorizing them to make propoſals, or ſhew the Heads of thoſe Grievances he demands to be redreſſed; for ſome they urge in their Petition there are, which diſtract the people; but I ſuppoſe they are more careful of their Heads, than to own any ſuch correſpondence.

If

If theſe Noble Perſons whould have effectually ſaved Effuſion of Blood, they would rather have uſed all their Intereſt to have kept the Prince of *Orange* in his Country, tho' with his Army and Fleet in readineſs, and have obtained his ſending his demands, and have waited like dutiful Subjects till the King had convened his Parliament, and have tried how Gracious the King would have been in redreſſing Grievances, and ſecuring Religion and Property, and after the King's refuſal there might have been ſome colour for his Invaſion, but none upon any pretence whatſoever to have invited him to it. *Novemb*

*Fifthly*, Thoſe who will not openly, and with a bare face juſtifie the Prince of *Orange*'s Pretenſions, cannot think it conſiſtant with the Honour of the King to ſtoop ſo low as to ſummon a Parliament at the direction of an Invader, who can never be conceived to deſire it with that eagerneſs, if he did not judge it very much conduceable to his Intereſt, for which very reaſon the King ought to be jealous of ſuch Councils.

And I humbly conceive thoſe Peers have not ſufficiently conſidered how prejudicial this ſort of Addreſs may be to the King's Affairs, and how much it will conduce to the further alienating of the Affections of the Subjects from the King, when they ſhall hear of his denial to comply at preſent with this Expedient, and never hear the reaſons thereof, ſince they have not divulged his Majeſties Gracious Anſwer, together with their Petition; and I 'am ſure, at this time the putting the King upon ſuch a *Dilemma*, 'is the greateſt diſſervice can be done him, and very little inferior 'to joining with his Enemies.

I might add many more Arguments to prove, that the King cannot in Honour yield to this Advice, without quitting that undeniable Prerogative the Laws give him, of making War, or concluding peace, if thoſe matters ſhould be ſubmitted to the Arbitriment of the two Houſes; or owning that the Allegiance of his Subjects did not bind them to aſſiſt him in the defence of his Crown and Dominions, without the Votes of a Parliament. But I ſhall conclude with ſome few Conſiderations I humbly offer to thoſe Right Reverend, and Noble Lords, and all thoſe who are of the ſame Judgment with them, to reflect upon.

*Firſt* then, I deſire them to conſider, whether it will not be more glorious, and agreeable to the Principles of our Religion, effectually to aſſiſt our undoubted lawful Soveraign, then to ſuffer him

*Novemb.* to be dethroned solely because he is a *Roman Catholick*, since the Papists themselves, tho' they never take the Oath of Allegiance or Supremacy, yet do, and ever have declared, that if any *Roman Catholick* Prince, yea the Pope himself in person, should invade any King of *England*, tho' a Protestant, yet that they are bound to defend such a King against them, as much as if they were *Turks*.

*Secondly*, Whether since the true and original Cause of this Invasion, and consequently of all the Blood shed these Lords so earnestly desire to prevent, hath not been the denying to concur with the King in establishing of Liberty of Conscience, even with such security to the Protestant Religion, and Church of *England*, as could be desired: And whether in all humane probability, that would not be more conduceable to establish the publick Tranquility of the Kingdom, and its increase in Wealth and People, and consequently the most efficacious means to reduce the *Dutch* to be just and tractable Allies and Neighbours, rather then any thing can be effected by this Invasion, or the truckling to such avowed Enemies to our Country, our Religion, and our King.

*Thirdly*, Whether the King's entire Trust in the Fidelity of his own Subjects for his defence, and not admitting of foreign Aids, that were unsought for, proffered, do not oblige all that have any sense of Gratitude or Duty, to aid him to the very utmost against such Foreigners as so unnaturally, and so unjustly invade him; and when it hath pleased God to give success to the King's just Arms, we are not to doubt, but the King, according to his solemn promise in his late Royal Declaration, will speedily call a Parliament, and in it redress all such Grievances as his people can justly complain of, with a full and ample security to the Church of *England*, and all his Protestant Subjects, which it will much more be our Interest to have in a truly harmonious, and Free-parliamentary way at that time established, then at this present in a tumultuary and precipitate haste so ptached up, as will not be durable; and the more earnestly we desire to see this good work to be set upon, the more haste the Nobility and Gentry should make to expel those who hindred the Convention of that Parliament, which was much more likely to have settled matters to the content of the King and his People, then this Invasion can ever hope to effect.

Several

Several of the Privy Council had before this adviſed his Majeſty to call a Parliament without delay, and before his Subjects asked it; aſſuring him, that if any Attempt were made upon his Royal perſon, or Authority, it would certainly engage many honeſt Men to ſtand by him, and beſides it would always be in his power to Prorogue or Diſſolve it, and at laſt to truſt to his Land and Sea Forces. But the Jeſuits who intirely poſſeſſed him on the other Hand repreſented, that he would be in danger to ſee his great Forces which he had then on Foot, Unite with his Parliament againſt him, or at leaſt, a diſcontent and diviſion would ariſe amongſt them; but if he ſtood his ground, and ſuffered no Parliament to meet, all would faithfully ſtick to him, ſo long as he abſolutely relied upon his Forces; and accordingly this laſt Advice was it he took, and would never be brought off it, till it ended in his Ruine.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration could be no longer ſuppreſs'd, and therefore it was ſuffered about this time to be printed with a ſhort *Preface, and ſome modeſt Remarks* (as the Author pretends) *on it*: In 4to.

## The Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſons why he Invades *England*; with a ſhort Preface, and ſome modeſt Remarks on it.

THERE *having been various Diſcourſes about the Reaſonableneſs and Juſtice of the* Dutch *Invaſion, the Prince's great Love and ſpecial Care of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and* Engliſh Proteſtants, *ſet forth in the moſt charming manner, and the Deſperateneſs of the* Proteſtants *State and Condition, painted in the blackeſt and moſt frightful Colours; Our Natural* Liege Lord, *notwithſtanding his Unparallel'd Grace to all, repreſented as deſigning the greateſt Cruelty againſt his own Subjects; ſtrange Stories of ill things whiſpered, and nothing leſs than a Secret League between His Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and the* French King, *to extirpate all* Proteſtants, *entred into. Theſe Reports are with ſo much Art and Cunning ſpread, as to ſtartle the moſt* * *conſidering* Proteſtants *of all perſwaſions, whence nothing could be more eagerly deſired, than a ſight of the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration. For the Expectations of moſt Men are, That ſome extraordinary Secrets, ſome hidden Works of Darkneſs ſhould be reveal'd and brought*

* They did ſo whilſt the danger hung over our heads, tho' now nothing leſs dreadful.

*brought to light, as generally thoſe, who yet never ſaw the Prince's Declaration, do ſtill believe: But there not being one word of any ſuch* Treaty, *we cannot ſee why it is that the Prince comes over; and if others impartially peruſe the Declaration, we doubt not but 'twill convince them, that they give no Reaſon powerful enough to juſtifie ſo Bloody an Enterpriſe, as this in the Iſſue muſt needs be.*

*We will therefore give you a true Copy of the Prince's* Declaration, *word for word, as it runs in the* Weſt.

*The Declaration of his Highneſs,* William Henry, *by the Grace of God,* Prince *of* Orange, *&c. of the Reaſons inducing him to appear in Arms in the Kingdom of* England, *for preſerving of the Proteſtant Religion, and for reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

1. IT is both certain and evident to all men, that the publick peace and Happineſs of any State or Kingdom cannot be preſerved, where the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by the lawful Authority in it, are openly tranſgreſſed and annulled: More eſpecially where the Alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: Upon which thoſe who are moſt immediately concerned in it, are indiſpenſably bound to endeavour to preſerve and maintain the eſtabliſhed Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms, and above all, the *Religion* and Worſhip of God that is eſtabliſhed among them; and to take ſuch an effectual care, that the Inhabitants of the ſaid State or Kingdom, may neither be deprived of their *Religion*, nor of their Civil Rights: Which is ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe the Greatneſs and Security both of Kings, Royal Families, and of all ſuch as are in Authority, as well as the Happineſs of their Subjects and people, depend in a moſt eſpecial manner, upon the exact Obſervation and maintenance of theſe their Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms.

2. Upon theſe grounds it is, that we cannot any longer forbear to declare that to our great Regret, we ſee that thoſe Counſellors, who have now the chief Credit with the King, have overturned the *Religion*, Laws and Liberties of thoſe Realms, and ſubjected them in all things relating to their Conſciences, Liberties, and properties, to Arbitrary Government, and that not only by ſecret and indirect

indirect ways, but in an open and undiſguiſed manner. *Novemb.*

3. Thoſe Evil Counſellors for the advancing and colouring this with ſome plauſible pretexts, did invent and ſet on foot the Kings *Diſpenſing Power*, by Vertue of which they pretend, that according to *Law*, he can *ſuſpend*, and *diſpence* with the Execution of the *Laws* that have been enacted by the Authority of the King and Parliament, for the ſecurity and Happineſs of the Subject, and ſo have rendred thoſe Laws of no effect; tho there is nothing more certain, than that as no Laws can be made, but by the joynt concurrence of King and Parliament, ſo likewiſe Laws ſo enacted, which ſecure the publick peace, and ſafety of the Nation, and the Lives and Liberties of every Subject in it, cannot be repealed or ſuſpended but by the ſame Authority.

4. For tho' the King may pardon the puniſhment that a Tranſgreſſor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in the Caſes of *Treaſon* or *Felony*; yet it cannot be with any colour of Reaſon inferred from thence, that the King can entirely ſuſpend the Execution of thoſe Laws relating to *Treaſon* or *Felony*; unleſs it is pretended, that he is clothed with a Deſpotick and Arbitrary power; and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Eſtates of the Subjects depend wholly on his good Will and Pleaſure, and are entirely ſubject to him, which muſt infallibly follow, on the King's having a power to *ſuſpend* the Execution of the *Laws*, and to diſpenſe with them.

5. Thoſe Evil Counſellors, in order to the giving ſome Credit to this ſtrange and execrable Maxim, have ſo conducted the Matter, that they have obtained a Sentence from the Judges, declaring, that this *Diſpenſing Power* is a Right belonging to the *Crown*; as if it were in the power of the Twelve Judges to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be diſpoſed of by him Arbitrarily and at his Pleaſure, and expreſly contrary to Laws enacted for the Security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining this Judgment, thoſe Evil Counſellors did before hand examine ſecretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procured ſuch of them as could not in Conſcience concur in ſo pernicious a Sentence, to be turned out, and others to be ſubſtituted in their rooms, till by the Changes which were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at laſt obtained that Judgment. And they have raiſed ſome to thoſe Truſts, who make open Profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, tho thoſe are by Law rendred incapable of all ſuch Employments.

6. It

*Novemb.* 6. It is alſo manifeſt and notorious, That as his Majeſty was upon his coming to the Crown, received and acknowledged by all the Subjects of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as their *King*, without the leaſt Oppoſition, tho he made then open Profeſſion of the *Popiſh Religion*; ſo he did then promiſe, and ſolemnly ſwear at his Coronation, That he would maintain his Subjects in the free Enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties; and in particular, that he would maintain the *Church of England as it was eſtabliſhed by Law*: It is likewiſe certain, that there have been at divers and ſundry times ſeveral Laws enacted for the Preſervation of thoſe Rights and Liberties, and of the Proteſtant Religion; and among other Securities, it has been enacted, That all Perſons whatſoever, that are advanced to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, or to bear Office in either Univerſity, as likewiſe all other that ſhould be put in any Imployment, Civil or Military, ſhould declare that they were not Papiſts, but were of the Proteſtant Religion, and that by their taking of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Teſt*, yet theſe Evil Counſellors have in effect annulled and aboliſhed all thoſe Laws, both whith relation to Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Employments.

7. In order to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Offices, they have not only without any colour of Law, but againſt moſt expreſs Laws to the contrary, ſet up a Commiſſion, of a certain number of Perſons, to whom they have committed the Cogniſance and Direction of all Eccleſiaſtical matters; in the which Commiſſion there has been, and ſtill is one of his Majeſties Miniſters of State, who makes now publick profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, and who at the time of his firſt profeſſing it, declared that for a great while before he had believed that to be the only true Religion. By all this, the deplorable State to which the Proteſtant Religion is reduced, is apparent, ſince the Affairs of the Church of *England* are now put into the hands of perſons who have accepted of a Commiſſion that is manifeſtly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to all Law; and that now one of their chief Members has abjured the *Proteſtant Religion*, and declared himſelf a *Papiſt*; by which he is become uncapable of holding any publick Imployment. The ſaid Commiſſioners have hitherto given ſuch proof of their Submiſſion to the Directions given them, that there is no reaſon to doubt, but they will ſtill continue to promote all ſuch deſigns as will be moſt agreeable to them. And thoſe Evil Counſellors

ſellors take care to raiſe none to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, but perſons that have no Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, and that now hide their unconcernedneſs for it, under the ſpecious pretence of *Moderation*. The ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuſpended the Biſhop of *London*, only becauſe he refuſed to obey an Order that was ſent him to ſuſpend a worthy Divine, without ſo much as citing him before him to make his own Defence, or obſerving the common forms of Proceſs. They have turned out a Preſident choſen by the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*, and afterwards all the Fellows of that Colledge, without ſo much as citing them before any Court that could take legal Cogniſance of that Affair, or obtaining any Sentence againſt them by a competent Judge. And the only reaſon that was given for turning them out, was their refuſing to chuſe for their Preſident, a perſon that was recommended to them, by the Inſtigation of thoſe Evil Counſellours, tho' the Right of a Free-Electon belonged undoubtedly to them. But they were turned out of their Free-holds contrary to Law, and to that expreſs proviſion in the *Magna Charta*, *That no man ſhall loſe Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land.* And now theſe Evil Counſellors have put the ſaid Colldge wholly into the hands of Papiſts, tho' as is aboveſaid, they are incapable of all ſuch Employments, both by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the Colledge. Theſe Commiſſioners have alſo cited before them all the Chancellors and Archdeacons of *England*, requiring them to certifie to them the Names of all ſuch Clergymen as have read the King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and of ſuch as have not read it, without conſidering that the reading of it was not enjoyned the Clergy by the Biſhops who are their Ordinaries. The Illegality and Incompetency of the ſaid Court of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners was ſo notoriouſly known, and it did ſo evidenty appear, that it tended to the Subverſion of the *Proteſtant Religion*, that the Moſt Reverend Father in God, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, ſeeing that it was raiſed for no other end but to oppreſs ſuch perſons as were of eminent Virtue, Learning and Piety, refuſed to ſit, or to concur in it. *Novemb.* 1687

8. And tho' there are many expreſs Laws againſt all Churches, or Chappels for the exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion, and alſo againſt all Monaſteries and Convents, and more particularly againſt the Order of the *Jeſuits*, yet thoſe Evil Counſellors have procu-

*Novemb.* red orders for the building of several Churches and Chappels for the exercise of that Religion. They have also procured divers Monasteries to be erected, and in contempt of the Law, they have not only set up several Colledges of *Jesuits* in divers places for the corrupting of the Youth, but have raised up one of the *Order* to be a privy Counsellor, and a Minister of State. By all which they do evidently shew, that they are restrained by no rules of Law whatsoever, but that they have subjected the Honours and Estates of the Subjects and the establish'd Religion, to a Despotick power, and to Arbitrary Government. In all which they are served and seconded by those Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

9. They have also followed the same Methods with relation to Civil affairs; for they have procured orders to examine all Lords Lieutenants, Depury-Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all others that were in any publick Imployment, if they would concur with the King in the repeal of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, and all such whose Consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out, and others were put in their places, who they believed would be more compliant to them in their designs of defeating the Intent and Execution of those Laws which had been made with so much care and caution for the security of the *Protestant Religion*. And in many of these places they have put professed Papists, tho the Law has disabled them, and warranted the Subjects not to have any regard to their Orders.

10. They have also invaded the priviledges, and seized on the Charters of most of those Towns that have a right to be represented by their Burgesses in Parliament, and have procured Surrenders to be made of them, by which the Magistrates in them have delivered up all their Rights and priviledges, to be disposed of at the pleasure of those Evil Counsellors, who have thereupon placed new Magistrates in those Towns, such as they can most entirely confide in; and in many of them they have put popish Magistrates, notwithstanding the Incapacities under which the Law has put them.

11. And whereas no Nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial Justice, upon which mens Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates do depend, those Evil Counsellors have subjected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick power: In the most important Affairs they have studied to discover beforehand the Opinions of the Judges, and have turned out such as they found

found would not conform themselves to their intentions, and have put others in their places, of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their Abilities. And they have not stuck to raise even professed Papists to the Courts of Judicature, notwithstanding their Incapacity by Law, and that no regard is due to any Sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such Judges, who in the common administration of Justice, shewed that they were governed by their Consciences, and not by the Directions which the others gave them. By which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be; and that without having any regard either to the Equity of the Cause, or to the Consciences of the Judges, whom they will have to submit in all things to their own Will and Pleasure; hoping by such ways to intimidate those who are yet in Emp'oyment, as also such others, as they shall think fit, to put in the rooms of those whom they have turned out; and to make them see what they must look for it, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good liking; and that no failings of that kind are pardoned in any Persons whatsoever. A great deal of Blood has been shed in many places of the Kingdom, by Judges governed by those Evil Counsellors, against all the Rules and Forms of Law, without so much as suffering the Persons that were accused to Plead in their own Defence. *Novemb.*

12. They have also, by putting the Administration of Justice in the hands of Papists, brought all the matters of Civil Justice into great uncertainties; with how much Exactness and Justice soever that these Sentences may have been given. For since the the Laws of the Land do not only exclude Papists from all Places of Judicature, but have put them under an Incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or to obey their Judgments, and all Sentences given by them are null and void of themselves: So that all Persons who have been cast in Tryals before such Popish Judges, may justly look on their pretended Sentences, has having no more force than the Sentences of any private and unauthorised Person whatsoever. So deplorable is the case of the Subjects, who are obliged to answer to such Judges, that must in all things stick to the Rules which are set them by those Evil Counsellors, who as they raised them up to those Employments,

*Novemb.* ſo can turn them out of them at pleaſure; and who can never be eſteemed Lawful Judges; ſo that all their Sentences are in the Conſtruction of the Law, of no Force and Efficacy. They have likewiſe diſpoſed of all Military Employments, in the ſame manner: For though the Laws have not only Excluded Papiſts from all ſuch Employments, but have in particular provided, that they ſhould be diſarmed; yet they, in contempt of theſe Laws, have not only armed the Papiſts, but have likewiſe raiſed them up to the greateſt Military Truſt, both by Sea and Land, and that Strangers as well as Natives, and Iriſh as well as Engliſh, that ſo by thoſe means, having rendred themſelves Maſters both of the Affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the Courts of Juſtice, and ſubjected them all to a Deſpotick and Arbitrary Power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked Deſigns, by the aſſiſtance of the Army, and thereby to enſlave the Nation.

13. The diſmal effects of this Subverſion of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, Laws and Liberties in *England*, appear more evidently to us, by what we ſee done in *Ireland*; where the whole Government is put in the Hands of *Papiſts*, and where all the Proteſtant Inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be juſtly apprehended from the Arbitrary Power which is ſet up there: which has made great numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Eſtates in it, remembring well that Cruel and Bloody Maſſacre which fell out in that Iſland in the Year 1641.

14. Thoſe evil Councellors have alſo prevailed with the King to declare in *Scotland*, That he is cloathed with *Abſolute Power*, and that all the Subjects are bound *to Obey him without Reſerve*: upon which he has aſſumed an Arbitrary Power both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom; from all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in *England*, as ſoon as matters are duly prepared for it.

15. Thoſe great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open Contempt of all Law, together with the Apprehenſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt certainly follow upon it, have put the Subjects under great and juſt Fears; and have made them look after ſuch lawful Remedies as are allowed of in all Nations: yet all has been without effect. And thoſe Evil Counſellors have endeavoured to make all Men apprehend the loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Eſtates, if they ſhould go about to preſerve

ſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion, by Petition, Repreſentati- *Novemb.*
ons, or other meanes authoriſed by Law. Thus did they pro- 1688
ceed with the Arch biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops, who having offered a moſt humble Petition to the King, in terms full of Reſpect, and not exceeding the number limited by Law, in which they ſet forth in ſhort, the Reaſons for which they could not obey that order, which, by the Inſtigation of thoſe Evil Counſellors, was ſent them, requiring them to appoint their Clergy to read in their Churches the Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*; were ſent to Priſon, and afterwards brought to a Tryal, as if they had been guilty of ſome enormous Crime. They were not only obliged to defend themſelves in that purſuit, but to appear before profeſſed Papiſts, who had not taken the Teſt, and by conſequence were Men whoſe Intereſt led them to condemn them; and the Judges that gave their Opinion in their favours, were thereupon turned out.

16. And yet it cannot be pretended, that any Kings, how great ſoever their Power has been, and how Arbitrary and Deſpotick ſoever they have been in the exerciſe of it, have ever reckoned it a Crime for their Subjects to come in all Submiſſion and Reſpect, and in a due number, not exceeding the limits of the Law, and repreſent to them the Reaſons that made it impoſſible for them to obey their Orders. Thoſe Evil Counſellors have alſo treated a Peer of the Realm as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace; though it is evident, that they being by Law rendred incapable of all ſuch Truſts, no regard is due to their Orders. This being the ſecurity which the People have by the Law for their Lives, Liberties, Honours, and Eſtates, that they are not to be ſubjected to the Arbitrary Proceedings of Papiſts, that are contrary to Law, put into any Employments Civil or Military.

17. Both We our ſelves, and our Deareſt and moſt Entirely Beloved Conſort the Princeſs, have endeavoured to ſignifie, in terms full of reſpect to the King, the juſt and deep Regret which all theſe Proceedings have given us; and in Compliance with his Majeſty's deſires ſignified to us, We declared both by Word of Mouth, to his Envoy, and in Writing, what our Thoughts were touching the Repealing of the *Teſt and Penal Laws*; which we did in ſuch a manner, that we hoped we had propoſed an Expedient by which the Peace of thoſe Kingdoms, and a happy agreement among

among the Subjects of all Perſwaſions, might have been ſerled: but thoſe Evil Counſellors have put ſuch ill Conſtructions on theſe our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us; as if We had deſigned to diſturb the Quiet and Happineſs of the Kingdom.

18. The laſt and great Remedy for all thoſe Evils, is *the calling of a Parliament*, for ſecuring the Nation againſt the evil Practices of thoſe wicked Counſellors: but this could not be yet compaſſed, nor can it be eaſily brought about. For thoſe Men apprehending, that a Lawful Parliament being once aſſembled, they would be brought to an account for all their open Violations of Law, and for their Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives, and Liberties of their Subjects, they have endeavoured, under the ſpecious Pretence of *Liberty of Conſcience*, firſt to ſow Diviſions among Proteſtants, between thoſe of the *Church of England* and the *Diſſenters*: The deſign being laid to engage Proteſtants, that are all equally concerned, to preſerve themſelves from Popiſh Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings, that ſo by theſe ſome Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Deſigns; and that both in the Election of the Members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament it ſelf. For they ſee well, that if all Proteſtants could enter into a mutual good underſtanding one with another, and concur together in the preſerving of their Religion, it would not be poſſible for them to compaſs their wicked Ends. They have alſo required all Perſons in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, that either were in any Employment, or were in any conſiderable Eſteem, to declare before-hand, that they would concur in the Repeal of the *Teſt and Penal Laws*; and that they would give their Voices in the Elections to Parliament, only for ſuch as would concur in it: Such as would not thus pre-ingage themſelves, were turned out of all Employments; And others who entred into thoſe Engagements, were put in their places, many of them being Papiſts: And contrary to the Charters and Priviledges of thoſe Burroughs that have a Right to ſend Burgeſſes to Parliament, they have ordered ſuch Regulations to be made, as they thought fit and neceſſary, for aſſuring themſelves of all the Members that are to be choſen by thoſe Corporations: and by this means they hope to avoid that Puniſhment which they have deſerved; though it is apparent, that all acts made by Popiſh Magiſtrates are null and void of themſelves: So that no

Parliament

Parliament can be Lawful, for which the Elections and Returns are made by Popiſh Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the Authority and Magiſtracy is in ſuch hands, it is not poſſible to have any Lawful Parliament. And though according to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and Immemorial Cuſtom, all Elections of Parliament-men ought to be made with an entire Liberty, without any ſort of Force, or the requiring the Electors to chuſe ſuch Perſons as ſhall be named to them; and the Perſons thus freely Elected, ought to give their Opinions freely, upon all Matters that are brought before them, having the good of the Nation ever before their Eyes, and following in all things the dictates of their Conſcience; yet now the People of *England* cannot expect a Remedy from a *Free Parliament*, legally Called and Choſen. But they may perhaps ſee one Called, in which all Elections will be carried by Fraud or Force, and which will be compoſed of ſuch Perſons, of whom thoſe Evil Counſellors hold themſelves well aſſured, in which all things will be carried on according to their Direction and Intereſt, without any regard to the Good or Happineſs of the Nation. Which may appear evidently from this, that the ſame Perſons tried the Members of the laſt Parliament, to gain them to Conſent to the Repeal of the *Teſt and Penal Laws*, and procured that Parliament to be diſſolved, when they found that they could not, neither by Promiſes nor Threatnings, prevail with the Members to comply with their wicked Deſigns. *Novemb.*

19. But to Crown all, there are great and violent Preſumptions, inducing us to believe, that thoſe Evils Counſellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill Deſigns, and to the gaining to themſelves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the diſcouraging of all good Subjects, have publiſhed, That the *Queen* hath brought forth a *Son*; though there have appeared both during the *Queen*'s pretended bigneſs, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible grounds of Suſpicion, that not only we our ſelves, but all the good Subjects of thoſe Kingdoms, do vehemently ſuſpect, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the *Queen*. And it is notoriouſly known to all the World, that many both doubted of the *Queen*'s Bigneſs, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to ſatisfie them, or to put an end to their Doubts.

20. And

*Novemb.* 20. And ſince our Deareſt and moſt Entirely beloved Conſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe We Our Selves, have ſo great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right, as all the World knows, to the Succeſſion to the Crown: Since alſo the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1072. When the States General of the *United Provinces* were invaded in a moſt unjuſt War, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to put an end to that War, and that in oppoſition to thoſe who were then in the Government; and by their ſo doing, they run the hazard of loſing both the Favour of the Court, and their employments: And ſince the *Engliſh* Nation has ever teſtified a moſt particular Affection and Eſteem, both to our Deareſt Conſort the Princeſs, and to Our Selves, We cannot excuſe our ſelves from Eſpouſing their Intereſts, in a Matter of ſuch high Conſequence; and from contributing all that lies in us, for the maintaining both of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of the Laws and Liberties of thoſe Kingdoms; and for the ſecuring to them the continual enjoyment of all their juſt Rights. To the doing of which, We are moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of of all Ranks.

21. Therefore it is, that We have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force, ſufficient by the Bleſſing of God, to defend us from the Violence of thoſe Evil Counſellors. And We being deſirous that our Intentions in this may be rightly underſtood, have for this end prepared this *Declaration*, in which, as we have hitherto given a True Account of the Reaſons inducing us to it; ſo we now think fit to declare, That this our Expedition is intended for no other deſign, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Aſſembled, as ſoon as is poſſible: And that in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgeſſes are limited contrary to the Ancient Cuſtom, ſhall be conſidered as null and of no force: And likewiſe all Magiſtrates who have been unjuſtly turned out, ſhall forthwith reſume their former employments, as well as all the Burroughs of *England* ſhall return again to their Ancient Preſcriptions and Charters: And more particularly, that the Ancient Charter of the Great and Famous City of *London*, ſhall again be in force: And that the Writs for the Members of Parliament ſhall be addreſſed to the proper Officers, according to Law and Cuſtom. That alſo none be ſuffered to chooſe, or to be choſen Members

of

of Parliament, but such as are qualified by Law: And that the Members of Parliament being thus lawfully Chosen, they shall meet and sit in full Freedom; that so the two Houses may concur in the preparing of such Laws, as they upon full and free Debate shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the *Test*, and such other Laws as are necessary for the security and maintenance of the *Protestant Religion*; as likewise for making such Laws as may establish a good agreement between the *Church of England* and all *Protestant Dissenters*; as also for the covering and securing of all such who will live peaceably under the Government, as becomes good Subjects, from all persecution upon the account of their Religion, even *Papists* themselves not excepted; and for the doing of all other things, which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter under *Arbitrary Government*. To this Parliament we will also refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and of all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession. *Novemb.*

22. And We, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, which a Free and Lawful Parliament shall determine; since we have nothing before our Eyes in this our Undertaking, but the preservation of the *Protestant Religion*, the Covering of all Men from persecution for their Consciences, and the securing to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a Just and Legal Government.

23. This is the Design that we have proposed to our selves, in appearing upon this occasion in Arms: In the Conduct of which, We will keep the Forces under our Command, under all the strictness of Martial Discipline; and take a special care, that the people of the Countries through which we must March, shall not suffer by their means; and as soon as the State of the Nation will admit of it, We promise that we will send back all those Foreign Forces that We have brought along with us.

24. We do therefore hope that all people will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our proceedings: But We chiefly rely on the Blessing of God for the Success of this our Undertaking in

*Novemb.* which We place our whole and only Confidence.

25. We do in the last place invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the Executing of this our Design, against all such as shall endeavour to Oppose us; that so we may prevent all those Miseries which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery: And that all the Violences and Disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the *English* Government, may be fully redressed in a *Free and Legal Parliament*

26. And we do likewise resolve, that as soon as the Nations are brought to a state of Quiet, We will take care that a Parliament shall be called in *Scotland*, for the restoring the Ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the people may live easie and happy, and for putting an end to all the injust Violences, that have been in a course of so many years committed there.

We will also study to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland* to such a state, that the Settlement there may be religiously observed; and that the Protestant and British Interest there, may be secured. And we will endeavour by all possible means, to procure such an Establishment in all the Three Kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy Union and Correspondence together; and that the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and Happiness of those Nations, may be established upon lasting Foundations.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the* Hague, *the Tenth day of* October, *in the Year of our Lord* 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness special Command,*

C. HUYGENS.

*Thus*

THus you have an exact and full Account of the Prince of Orange's *Novemb.* Declaration: And can you find one word of a Treaty with France, to extirpate all Protestants? Or can you imagine, that if they had the least Reason for such a Talk, they who aggravate every little thing, would let this Declaration pass without the least mentioning of what is so momentous and important? * And is there any thing more than a violent Presumption suggested about the Prince of Wales? And is the very Noise of such a Presumption reason enough to justifie a real War? As for the other things urg'd, are they not redressable by a Parliament, and so far as it's possible without one, already Redressed? † 'Tis a Parliament then that is the main thing to be insisted on, which, though Chosen as the last was, would be too feeble an Argument to clear the present Invasion from the charge of being Injust and Unrighteous.

* This Modesty of the Expression is a Justification of the Sincerity and Civility of the Declarer.

† Nothing but a *Free Parliament* could re-establish our shattered Priviledges and Liberties, and therefore it was so stiffly denied.

*The Great Men of this Kingdom ever thought a Parliament Irregularly Chosen more eligible than either a War, or a rash Enquiry into the manner of the Choise. Did Queen* Elizabeth's *Parliament admit of a Word being spoken to bring Queen* Mary's *Parliament into doubt? Did they not look on it as most dangerous to do so? And although by the Triennial Bill, the long Parliament in that late King's Reign was actually Dissolved Nine Months before it thought on the Repeal thereof, yet even after 'twas destroyed by it, the* Dissolved *Parliament sate and repealed the* Dissolving *Bill, and made the Conventicle-Act, the Test-Laws, repealed the Writ* De Haretico Comburendo, *and pass'd the* Habeas Corpus *Bill into a Law. But was the Assembly that acted thus Irregularly, ever call'd to an Account for it, or any of their Laws declared Void and Null? Or was it ever esteem'd a Good Reason for a War? And yet this is much more than hath been ever done by His Present Majesty.* ‖ *Besides, 'twas the late King that took away the Charters, and those who were entring on violent Courses for their Restauration, were proclaimed Traytors, and several executed for it, while all the Pulpits throughout* England *sounded of the Horridness, Blackness, Vileness, Divelishness of that Conspiracy; And is what was Black and Horrid then, become Noble, Great, Generous and Glorious now?*

‖ True, the Charters were taken away to secure the Succession and Monarchy then, but now to ruine the *English* Liberty, and *Protestant* Religion.

*Thus much was also a part of the late Duke of* Monmouth's *Declaration,*

*Novemb.* *claration, and yet a Parliament chosen by the Garbled Corporation pro-claim'd him a Traytor, and Attainted him: But doth the Blood of* Monmouth, *as well as of the fore-mentioned Conspirators, and of all those in the* West, *lye on the Judges, Juries, Nobility, and other Gentry of the Church of* England*, *that had a hand in condemning such as by violent Methods would have restor'd the Charters. If these things could not vindicate the Presbyterian Plotters in the late King's Reign, or* Monmouth's *Rebellion, it cannot excuse the present Undertaking; for this doth infinitely exceed those and the Civil War too; for neither of them brought in a Foreign Power upon us, as now is done.*

* Their Loyalty, or rather Credulity, had been too notoriously abus'd, to be now again imposed on by this Argument: So it fell on the Offerer, and raised a just Indignation, instead of Submission to a second Cheat.

*But it must be observed, that how great soever our Grievances have been, yet now all that Relief that can reasonably be desired, is granted us. The Ecclesiastical Commission actually broken up, the Bishop of* London, *the Master and Fellows of* Magdalen *Colledge, and the Ancient Charters of Cities and Burroughs actually restored, all things on the ancient Bottom, for the calling a Free Parliament, which His Majesty would have done before this time, had not the Prince of* Orange *hindred him; and as soon as the Prince of* Orange *departs, the King will call one; whereby all the Prince's Pretensions are taken away, and nothing more remains for him to do, but to return home, or contend for the Crown.*

The Redresses granted had no certainty, because the Dispensing Power was still defended, the Bishop of *London*'s Sentence remitted, but not declared Illegal; the Charters were restored, but still subject to new *Quo Warranto*'s. And as for the promised Parliament, thô it was after granted; yet so dreadful it was, that the abandoning the Throne was more eligible then the sight of that Assembly. So all this Cant produced no good effect on the exasperated Minds of Men.

*Yet the Prince would have us believe, that though he is not satisfied in this, yet he intends no such thing as the Crown, or a Conquest of it, as appears by his Highness's Additional Declaration.*

## *His Highness's Additional Declaration.*

AFter we had prepared and printed this our Declaration, we have understood, that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of those Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations, to assist the People against them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary

Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had assumed, and to vacuate some of their Injust Judgments and Decrees. The sense of their Guilt, and the distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of *London* some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions; hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws under the shelter of our Arms: They do also give out, That we do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation; and therefore it is that we have thought fit to add a few words to our Declaration. *Novemb.* 1688.

We are confident, that no Persons can have such hard thoughts of us, as to imagine that we have any other Design in this Undertaking, then to procure a Settlement of the Religion, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations relapsing into the like Miseries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces that we have brought along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of Intending it; so the great numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known Integrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Government of *England*, many of them being also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious Insinuations: For it is not to be imagined, that either those who have Invited us, or those that are already come to Assist us, can joyn in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests. We are also confident, that all Men see how little weight there is to be laid on all Promises and Engagements, that can be now made; since there has been so little regard had in the time past, to the most solemn Promises. And as that imperfect Redress that is now offered, is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government that we have set forth; so the Defectiveness of it is no less apparent: For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure; and they reserve entire, and not so much as mentioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power; which has been the Root of all their Oppression, and of the total Subversion of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be no Redress no Remedy

*Novemb.* Remedy offered but in Parliament; by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded, and not by any Pretended Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their Affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, That we will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation, in a Lawful Parliament.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Court in the* Hague, *the Twenty seventh day of* October *in the Year of our Lord* 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness's special Command,*

C. HUYGENS.

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THis Addition doth very fully unfold the Design, the Prince will abide among us with a Foreign Power, and make the Choise of a Parliament impracticable, & therefore the Call of one a weak and foolish thing; and yet oblige us to distrust every Promise the King makes us, lessening what is done, and insinuating that all things shall be soon undone. And why all these Insinuations, but to help us to Unravel the whole Intrigue; which, if it be not for the Crown, must be thus: The Dutch knowing how the Prince hath ravished from them their Liberties and Priviledges, and what danger they are in of being utterly undone, if Liberty of Conscience be settled among us in England, precipitate the Prince on this hazardous Undertaking, not doubting but they shall be either delivered from the Prince's Exercise of a Despotick Power over them, or spoil our Liberty, to the Continuance and Advance of their own Trade; which may be the reason why in the entrance into the Declaration, what relates to Religion is so worded as to gain the Bishops over to them, the more easily to effect their Design; for says the Declaration, The Alteration of Religion is endeavoured and that a Religion which is contrary to Law, is endeavoured to be introduced: It is not said, that the Popish Religion, but a Religion contrary to the Law; and, it's well known, that the Laws are against the Religion of the Dissenters, and the Prince's

endeavour

*endeavour shall be to preserve and maintain, above all, the* Religion *and* Worship of God that is Established among us; *which cannot be understood of the Worship the Dissenters use, but of the Hierarchical way, that is as contrary to the Prince's own Religion, as 'tis to that of the Dissenters in* England. *And to persuade the Churchmen to close with him, he Declares, That he was most earnestly solicited to come over by the* Lords Spiritual, *not doubting, but that if the Belief thereof prevail among the Mobile, they'll be all of an Opinion, that the Prince's Ground are most Just and Reasonable; so that though it cannot be made out by any thing particularly known, yet this general carrying a thousand unheard of Arguments in its Bowels cannot fail of Success* Novemb.

*But what if this prove not True? May we afterwards venture to believe his Highness in any thing, which under a violent Temptation, he may be, as now, moved to declare? The Prince insists on it, That many of the* Lords Spiritual *did most earnestly solicite him to Invade us, and yet the* Lords Spiritual *do not only declare, That they look on this Invasion to be sinful, but, that they never solicited his coming; And it must be acknowledged, That they could do no such thing without acting most contrary to their avowed Principles, and contrary to most solemn* Oaths *and* Declarations; *and Men should take heed, how they receive this Report against the* Right Reverend Bishops; *the Design in which they are said to Embarque being founded on that very Principle, in pursuance of which the Head of* Charles *the Blessed Martyr was brought to the Block; and Embarque they cannot, but by joyning with a Foreign Army; the chief part of which is made up of those, who though they would willingly enough ensnare our Bishops, cannot be reasonably supposed to be true in the Promises they make about supporting their Hierarchical Grandeur; the utmost they must expect in the long run can be no more than a turning their Lands into Money, that, to the end their dependance on the Government may be the more effectually secured, instead of their present Lands, Leases, &c. they may have an Yearly Salary answerable to their worth and desert; which as 'twill be uncertain, so it cannot be hop'd that its utmost height shall arise to the State and Degree of a Baron; for Baronies go with their Lands. By this you may see, how unlikely any sort of* English-men *should by this Invasion gain any thing but Misery.*

How the Bishops were used on this score, is set down in its proper place.

To this was subjoyned a short Discourse, titled, *Animadversions upon the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange.* Which is about twelve Pages in *Quarto*, supposed to be written by *Steward*, but

*Novemb.* but then attributed to *Castlemain*; but whoever was the Author of it, it is a spruce piece of Sophistry; and he was a person who well knew what could be said for a bad Case, and where it was not possible to make any defence, and there would insensibly glide by, as if he had not minded the difficulty.

*Page* 21. He has this Expression; *put it to the Nation, and all the Nation must declare, that every Man enjoys his Conscience, his Liberty, and his Property, even to the envy of their less happy Neighbours; and that there has been no proceeding against a single Man, but for his single misdemeanor; and this is not Arbitrary, but Legal power. And then to asperse his Majesty with overturning all Laws, under the Name of Evil Counsellors! Why, Sir, let his Counsellors be never so bad they are worse, whose Service his Highness has used in Penning his Declaration.* By this Sample the Reader may judge of that whole Paper.

*First*, He useth the utmost assurance to out-face the World as to the Matter of Fact. *Secondly*, Pretends Redress. *Thirdly*, Promiseth a Parliament, when it may be denied, or over-awed. *Fourthly*, Makes all the Prince's Assisters Traytors, and perjur'd. And Lastly, Because the King was not accountable to his own Subjects, concludes, that neither was he so to the Prince, tho' a Soveraign Prince. So he was to be revered like a God, and no body (not a Neighbour interested Prince) was to presume to say to him, What doest thou? To that height of stupidity was their Flattery then arrived, but soon after it expired!

This is the best Abstract I can give of that Defence, which is too long to be intirely inserted in this Work, though it were to be wished a larger might in due time be published, with all the material Papers at large. This Paper was afterwards Answered; but things then had so rapid a motion, that the Reply coming too late, was scarce read or regarded, the Prince being then invited to *London* by the *Peers*, by the *Guild-Hall* Declaration.

Though there was not all that Men had fondly expected in this Declaration, yet here was enough to satisfie any rational Man, that the Expelling this Prince and his Army before our Religion, Liberties, Properties and Government were effectually settled in Parliament; and those who had so outragiously attempted the ruin of them were call'd to an account, would certainly end in the ruin of them; and was a kind of cutting up our Laws and Religion with our Swords. This and nothing else was the cause that where-

ever

ever the Prince's *Declaration* was read, it conquered all that saw or heard it; and it was to no purpose to excite Men to fight against their own interest, and to destroy what was more dear to them than their Lives. *Novemb.*

At the same time, an Extract of the States General their Resolution, *Thursday* the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1688. was also Printed privately in *London*; wherein, among other Reasons why they had intrusted the Prince of *Orange* with this Fleet and Army, is this which follows:

'THE King of *France* hath upon several occasions shewed 'himself dissatisfied with this Sate; which gave cause to 'fear and apprehend, that in case the King of *Great Britain* 'should happen to compass within his Kingdom, and obtain an 'Absolute Power over his People, that then both Kings, out 'of Interest of State, and Hatred and Zeal against the Prote-'stant Religion, would endeavour to bring this State to Con-'fusion, and, if possible, quite to subject it.

At the same time was Printed also this Letter of the Prince of *Orange*, to the Officers of the Army.

*Gentlemen and Friends,*

'WE have given you so full and so true an Account of our 'Intentions in this Expedition, in our *Declaration*, that 'as we can add nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire no-'thing more of us. We are come to preserve your Religion, 'and to restore and establish your Liberties and Properties; and 'therefore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but that all 'true Englishmen will come and concur with us in our desire to 'secure these Nations from POPERY and SLAVERY. 'You must all plainly see, that you are only made use of as 'Instruments to enslave the Nation, and ruin the Protestant Re-'ligion; and when that is done, you may judge what ye your-'selves ought to expect, both from the Cashiering all the Pro-'testant and *English* Officers and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the 'Irish Soldiers being brought over to be put in your Places; 'and of which you have seen *so fresh an Instance*, that we need 'not put you in mind of it. You know how many of your Fel-'low-Officers have been used, for their standing firm to the

Novemb. 'Protestant Religion, and to the Laws of *England*; and you cannot flatter your selves so far as to expect to be better used, if those who have broke their Word so often, should by your means be brought out of those straights to which they are at present reduced. We hope likewise that ye will not suffer your selves to be abused by a false Notion of Honour, but that you will in the first place consider, what you owe to Almighty God and your Religion, to your Country, to your Selves, and to your Posterity, which you, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer to all private Considerations and Ingagements whatsoever. We do therefore expect that you will consider the Honour that is now set before you, of being the Instruments of serving your Country, and securing your Religion; and we shall ever remember the Service you shall do Us upon this occasion, and will promise you, That we shall place such particular Marks of our Favour on every one of you, as your Behaviour at this time shall deserve of Us and the Nation; in which we shall make a great distinction of those that shall come seasonably to joyn their Arms with Ours; and you shall find Us to be your well wishing and assured Friend,

*W. H. P. O.*

And another to all the Officers and Seamen in the *English* Fleet.

*Gentlemen and Friends,*

'AS We have given to our Faithful and Well-beloved Admiral *Herbert* a full power, so we hope that you will give him an Intire Credit, as to all he shall say to you on our part. We have published a Declaration, which contains the Reasons which moved Us to enter upon this Expedition, in which you will see We had no other design than the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the re-establishment of the Laws and *Liberties* of the Kingdom of *England*, because it is evident that the Papists have resolved the intire ruine of Our Religion in great *Britain*, as it is effected already in *France*: And to you it is only to be imputed if they are Masters.

'We are persuaded that you already perceive that you are made use of only as an Instrument for the bringing your selves

'selves and your Country under the yoke of the Papacy, and into Slavery, by the means of the *Irish*, and other Foreigners who are prepared to finish your Destruction. And therefore we hope God will inspire you with more salutary thoughts for the facilitating your Deliverance, and for the delivering you from all your Miseries, with your Country and Religion. *Novemb.*

'And this is in all appearance impossible, without your joyning with us, and assisting us who seek nothing but your Deliverance. And we also assure you, That we will never forget the Services which you shall do us on this occasion; and we promise to give every one particular marks of our favour, who shall deserve it of us and the Nation. We are sincerely your very affectionate Friend,

*W. H. P. O.*

These Letters were spread under-hand over the whole Kingdom, and read by all sorts of Men; and the reason of them being undeniable, it had a great force on the Spirits of the Soldiery and Seamen; so that those who did not presently comply with them, yet resolved they would never strike one stroke in this Quarrel, till they had a Parliament to secure the *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties* of *England*; which the Court, on the other side, had resolved should not be granted till the Prince of *Orange*, with his Army, was expelled out of the Nation, and all those that had submitted to him (which were not many then) were reduced into their Power, to be treated as they thought fit.

In the mean time the Fleet came about from the *Buoy and Ore* to *Portsmouth*, under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth*, where it arrived the Seventeenth of *November*; and on *Monday* the Nineteenth of *November* the King entred *Salisbury*, which was then the Head Quarters of the Army.

The Sixteenth of *November*, the Lord *Delame* having received certain Intelligence of the landing of the Prince of *Orange* in the *West*, and seeing the *Irish* throng over in Arms, under pretence of Assisting the King, but in reality to Enslave us at home, as they had already reduced our Countrymen in *Ireland* to the lowest degree of Danger and Impudence, that they have at any time been in since the Conquest of *Ireland* in

*Novemb.* the Reign of *Henry* II. he thereupon assembled fifty Horsemen, and at the Head of them marched to *Manchester*; and the next day he went to *Boden Downs*, his Forces being then an hundred and fifty strong, declaring his design was to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*. This small Party of Men by degrees drew in all the North, and could never be suppress'd.

Before his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* left *Exeter*, there was an *Association* drawn up, and Signed by all the Lords and Gentlemen that were with him, the Date of which I cannot assign.

'WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joyned with the Prince of *Orange*, for the defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another, in the defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*. And whereas we are engaged in this common Cause under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which in case his Person may be exposed to danger, and to the cursed attempts of *Papists*, and other bloody Men, we do therefore solemnly engage to God and one another, That if any such attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those who make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost severity of a just Revenge, to their Ruine and Destruction. And that the execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the rigour that so barbarous a Practice shall deserve.

*November* the Twentieth there happened a Skirmish at *Wincanton*, between a Detachment of seventy Horse and fifty Dragoons and Grenadiers, commanded by one Colonel *Sarsfield*; and about thirty of the Prince of *Orange*'s Men, commanded

manded by one *Cambel*: where notwithstanding the great inequality of the Numbers, yet the latter fought with that desperate bravery, that it struck a terror into the Minds of the Army, who were otherwise sufficiently averse from fighting; and besides, the Action was every where magnified so much above the real truth, that it shew'd clearly how much Men wished the Prosperity of that Prince's Army. *Novemb.*

This Lieutenant *Cambel*, and one Lieutenant *Echlin* belonging to *Macky's* Regiment, were sent out to buy and gather Horses for the Carriages; and they had gotten some near *Wincanton*, and were then resolving to march back with them to the Army, when they were allarm'd with the approach of the Forces under Colonel *Sarsfeild*: And if they had pursued that Design, they could not have been blamed, considering the inequality of their numbers, and that the Horses they had taken up might have been useful to them in their retreat; but they trusting to their Valour, resolved to fight the Enemy. To this end they drew out of the Town, and posted their Men behind the Hedges, in two small Enclosures, at the East end of *Wincanton*, on both sides of the Road: And *Cambel*, with five or six Men, kept the Road; and, upon the approach of the Enemy, he cried, *Stand, stand, Who are you for?* The other replying, *for King James*; *Cambel* said, *And I am for the Prince of Orange, Fire*, and shot the Officer dead; the rest of the Men thereupon fired also from the Hedges three times before the Horse could get in upon them, and then they retreated behind the next Hedge, and then stood again. The Men on the other side of the Road being better secured, kept their ground, and were never driven from their Post (as is said by the Author of the *Exact Diary*, pag. 58.) In the *interim*, the Inhabitants of *Wincanton* being much allarm'd, ran into the Fields to see what was doing; and a Miller's Man coming riding into the Town, cried to *Sarsfeild*, *Away for your Lives, save your selves, the Enemies are at hand*; upon which *Sarsfeild* and his Party fled, leaving more of their number slain, than they had engaged. There was one Coronet *Web*, who came with them, left wounded in the Field, who was taken care for by the Prince's Men. *Sarsfeild* retiring in that disorder, that he took no care of his own Men, nor ever enquired into the truth of the story which frighted him away. There was a Serjeant of the Prince's Party who asked, and had Quarter

*Novemb.* Quarter given him, but was afterwards shot dead by *Sarsfield's* Men. Of the Prince's Men there were about eight or nine slain in all, and the rest went back with their Horses to the Army.

The Twenty second of *November*, the King at *Salisbury* put out a Proclamation of Pardon, which was regarded by no body.

'FOrasmuch as several of our Subjects have been seduced to 'take up Arms, and, contrary to the Laws of God and 'Man, to joyn themselves with Foreigners and Strangers in a 'most unnatural Invasion upon us, and this their Native Coun-'try, many of whom we are perswaded have been wrought 'upon by false Suggestions and Misrepresentations made by 'our Enemies: And we desiring (as far as is possible) to reduce 'our said Subjects to Duty and Obedience by Acts of Cle-'mency, at least resolving to leave all such as shall persist in so 'wicked an Enterprize, without Excuse, do therefore promise, 'grant and declare, and by this our Royal Proclamation publish 'our Free and Absolute Pardon to all our Subjects who have 'taken up Arms, and joyn'd with the Prince of *Orange* and his 'Adherents in the present Invasion of this our Kingdom, pro-'vided they quit and desert our said Enemies, and within the 'space of twenty days from the date of this our Royal Procla-'mation, render themselves to some one of our Officers, Civil 'or Military, and do not again, after they have rendred them-'selves as aforesaid, return to our Enemies, or be any way 'aiding or assisting to them: And they who refuse or neglect 'to lay hold of this our Free and Gracious Offer, must never 'expect our Pardon hereafter, but will be wholly and justly 'excluded of and from all hopes thereof. And lastly, We do 'also promise and grant our Pardon and Protection to all such 'Foreigners as do or shall come over to us, whom we will either 'entertain in our Service, or otherwise grant them (if they 'shall desire it) freedom of passage, and liberty to return to 'the respective Countries from whence they came.'

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The same day the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty then assembled at *Nottingham*, made this Declaration. *Novemb.*

'WE the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of these Northern Counties, assembled at *Nottingham*, for the Defence of the Laws, Religion and Properties, according to the free-born Liberties and Privileges descended to Us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of *England*, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent us to the rest of the Nation, in the most malicious Dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our Duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects the grounds of our present Undertaking.

'We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, are about to be rooted out by our late *Jesuitical Privy Council*, as has been of late too apparent: First, by the King's dispensing with all the Established Laws at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room, that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the Established Laws of this Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the Land. 4. By discouraging all Persons that are not Papists, and preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law, which was meerly Arbitrary. 6. By branding all Men with the Name of Rebels, that but offered to justifie the Laws in a legal course against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By burthening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects; and by discountenancing the Established Religion. 8. By forbidding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their Arbitrary Ends. And many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

'We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, that is by the influence of *Jesuitical*

'Coun-

*Novemb.* 'Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not 'being willing to deliver our * Posterity over to such a condi- 'tion of *Popery* and *Slavery*, as the aforesaid Oppressions do ine- 'vitably threaten; we will, to the utmost of our power, op- 'pose the same, by joyning with the Prince of *Orange*, (whom, 'we hope, God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Op- 'pressions aforesaid) will use our utmost endeavours for the re- 'covery of our almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion; 'and herein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with 'their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be 'bug-bear'd with the opprobrious terms of Rebels, by which 'they would fright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyran- 'nical Insolences and Usurpations: For we assure our selves, 'that no rational and unbyas'd Person will judge it Rebellion 'to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have 'Sworn at their Coronation; which Oath, how well it hath 'been observed of late, we desire a *Free Parliament* may have 'the consideration of.

* These Gentlemen who now pretend to such extraordinary Loyalty, should do well to consider this.

'We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by 'Law; but he was always accounted a *Tyrant*, that made his '*Will the Law*, and to resist such a one, we justly esteem no 'Rebellion, but a necessary Defence: And in this considera- 'tion we doubt not of all honest Mens assistance, and humbly 'hope for and implore the Great God's Protection, that turn- 'eth the Hearts of his People as pleaseth him best; it ha- 'ving been observed, that People can never be of one mind 'without his Inspiration, which hath in all Ages confirmed 'that Observation, *Vox populi est vox Dei*.

'The present restoring the Charters, and reversing the op- 'pressing and unjust Judgment given on *Magdalen-College-Fellows*, 'is plain, are but to still the People, like Plumbs to Chil- 'dren, by deceiving them for a while: But if they shall by 'this Stratagem be fooled, till this present Storm that 'threatens the Papists be past, as soon as they shall be re- 'settled, the former Oppression will be put on with greater 'vigour; but we hope, *in vain is the Net spread in the sight 'of the Birds*: For, First, The Papists old Rule is, that *Faith 'is not to be kept with Heretick* (as they term Protestants) tho' 'the Popish Religion is the greatest Heresie. And, 2ly, Queen '*Mary*'s so ill observing her Promises to the *Suffolk* Men that

'help'd

'help'd her to her Throne. And above all, (3ly.) the Pope's *Novemb.*
'dispensing with the Breach of Oaths, Treaties or Promises at
'his pleasure, when it makes for the Service of Holy Church,
'as they term it. These, we say, are such convincing Rea-
'sons to hinder us from giving credit to the aforesaid *Mock-*
'*shews* of Redress, that we think our selves bound in Con-
'science to rest on no security that shall not be approved by a
'freely-elected Parliament; To whom, under GOD, we
'refer our Cause.

Whilest the King was busied at *Salisbury*, the Popish Party seeing their Affairs grow every day more desperate and hopeless, began to employ all their Politicks to invent some remedy for them, and then first formed the design of the King's withdrawing; which the Lord *Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no secret of, frequently saying, *The King would withdraw himself out of the Kingdom above a Fortnight before he did.* The Letter to a Bishop, pag. 14. Nor were these Persons the only two in this Secret, and of this Opinion: But a Letter was sent to the King, while he was here, *which can be produced* (saith my Author) in which he was told it was the unanimous Advice of all the *Catholicks* at *London*, That he should come back from thence, and withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, and leave it in confusion; assuring him, *That within two years or less it would be in such Confusion, that he might return and have his Ends of it.* This divulging the Secret before-hand, did much abate the wonder of it, when it happened; and disposed the Peers to a more speedy resolution of securing the Nation from the Confusion they designed and expected, and is a strong Proof the King withdrew voluntarily, and upon a design.

In the mean time, the Nobility about the King having used all the Arguments they could invent to perswade him to call a Free-Parliament, and finding him unmoveably fixed in a contrary resolution, and the Army in great discontent, disorder and fear, and the whole Nation just ready to take fire, † Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchil*, and many others of the Protestant Nobility, left him, and went over to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Sherborn*, the Prince left this following Letter for the King.

† It is said, Prince *George* came back with the King to *Andover*, and went away with the Duke of *Ormond*, on *Sunday* night, the Twenty fifth of *November*, from that place.

*SIR,*

*Novemb.* 'WIth an Heart full of Grief am I forced to write what Prudence will not permit me to say to your Face: 'And may I e'er find Credit with your Majesty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Passion, 'Vanity or Design, with which Actions of this nature are 'too often accompanied. I am not ignorant of the frequent 'Mischiefs wrought in the World by factious pretences of 'Religion; but were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, 'it would not be made the most specious Pretence. And your 'Majesty has always shewn too unconcerned a Sense of Religion, to doubt the just effects of it in one, whose practices 'have, I hope, never given the World cause to censure his 'real Conviction of it; or his backwardness to perform what 'his Honour and Conscience prompt him to. How then can 'I longer disguise my just Concern for that Religion, in which 'I have ben so happily educated, which my Judgment throughly 'convinceth me to be the Best, and for the Support of which 'I am so highly interested in my Native Country? And is not '*England* now by the most endearing Tye become so?

'Whilst the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the REFORMED RELIGION, back'd by the cruel Zeal and prevailing Power of *France*, justly alarm and unite all the Protestant Princes of *Christendom*, and engage them in so vast an 'Expence for the Support of it: Can I act so degenerous and 'mean a part, as to deny my concurrence to such worthy Endeavours, for the disabusing of your Majesty by the re-inforcement of those Laws and re-establishment of that Government, on which alone depends the well being of your Majesty, and of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*. This, Sir, 'is that irresistable and only Cause that could come in competition with my Duty and Obligations to your Majesty, and 'be able to tear me from you; while the same affectionate desire of serving you continues in me. Could I secure your 'Person by the hazard of my Life, I should think it could not 'be better employed. And wou'd to God these your distracted 'Kingdoms might yet receive that satisfactory compliance from 'your Majesty, in all their justifiable Pretensions, as might upon

'upon the only sure Foundation, that of the Love and Interests *Novemb.*
'of your Subjects, establish your Government, and as strongly
'unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to you, as is that of,

*SIR,*
*Your Majesty's most Humble,*
*And most Obedient Son and Servant.*

The Lord *Churchil* left a Letter to the same purpose, which runs thus:

*SIR,*

'SInce Men are seldom suspected of Sincerity when they act
'contrary to their Interests; and tho' my dutiful Behavi-
'our to your Majesty in the worst of Times (for which I ac-
'knowledge my poor Services much overpay'd) may not be
'sufficient to incline you to a charitable Interpretation of my
'Actions; yet, I hope, the great advantage I enjoy under your
'Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of Go-
'vernment, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the
'World, that I am acted by an higher Principle, when I offer
'that Violence to my Inclination and Interest, as to desert your
'Majesty at a time, when your Affairs seem to challenge the
'strictest Obedience from all your Subjects, much more from
'one who lies under the greatest personal Obligations imagi-
'nable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing
'but the inviolable Dictates of my Conscience, and a necessary
'Concern for my Religion, (which no good man can oppose)
'and with which I am instructed, nothing ought to come in
'competition: Heaven knows with what Partiality my duti-
'ful Opinion of your Majesty hath hitherto represented those
'unhappy Designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested Men
'have framed against your Majesty's true Interest and the Pro-
'testant Religion. But as I can no longer join with such, to
'give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to effect; so I will
'alwaies, with the hazard of my Life and Fortune, (so much
'your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your Royal Per-
'son and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and du-
'tiful Respect that becomes,

*SIR,*
*Your Majesty's most Dutiful,*
*And most obliged Subject and Servant.*

*Novemb.* The going off of these Great Men struck the King himself with Terror and Affliction; and the Army, which was before in very much disorder, became thereby so full of Fear and Suspicion, that a false Alarm being made by design or accident, on *Sunday* the 25th. of *November*, the King and the whole Army left *Salisbury*; the Army retreating to *Reading*, and the King to *Andover*; and on *Monday* the 26th. of *November* he returned in the Evening to *London*. The Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, his second Daughter, was gone privately the night before from *Whitehall*, with the Lady *Churchil*; and if she had not left a Letter too behind her, which shew'd the reason of her retiring, in all probability all the Popish Party about *Whitehall* had been cut in pieces by the King's own Guards, upon a surmise they had made away this beloved Princess: So that they were forced to print her Letter to the Queen, to secure themselves from Violence.

The first thing the King did after his return to *London*, was to remove Sir *Edward Hales* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to put Sir *Bevil Skelton*, a Protestant, in his place. Sir *Edward* had angred the whole City to the utmost, by planting several Mortar-pieces on the Walls towards the City, which though designed only to awe it, had enraged more than frighted them. So that his Majesty saw he was not safe at *Whitehall*, as long as Sir *Edward* was Master of the *Tower*.

The 28th. day, His Majesty ordered in a Privy-Council the Lord Chancellor to issue out Writs for the Sitting of a Parliament at *Westminster*, the 15th. day of *January* following: But it was now too late, and the Nation was in that Ferment, that it was not much regarded what the Court did or said.

The 29th. of *November* Prince *George* came to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Sherborn-Castle*.

The 30th. day of *November*, the King to appease the Minds of the People, issued out this Proclamation:

'WE have thought fit, as the best and most proper means 'to establish a lasting Peace in this our Kingdom, to 'call a Parliament, and have therefore ordered our Chancellor 'to cause Writs to be issued forth for summoning a Parliament 'to meet at *Westminster*, upon the Fifteenth day of *January* 'next ensuing the Date of this our Royal Proclamation. And, 'that

'that nothing may be wanting on our part, towards the Freedom of Elections, as we have already restored all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Burroughs throughout our Kingdom, to their ancient Charters, Rights, and Priviledges; so we command and require all Persons whatsoever, that they presume not by Menace or any other undue means, to influence Elections, or procure the Vote of any Elector. And we do also strictly require and command all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers, to whom the Execution or Return of any Writ, summons, Warrant, or Precept, for Members to the ensuing Parliament shall belong; that they cause such Writ, Summons, Warrant, or Precept, to be duly published and executed, and Returns thereupon fairly made, according to the true merits of such Elections. *Novemb.*

'And for the Security of all Persons both in their Elections and Service in Parliament, we do hereby publish and declare, That all our Subjects shall have free Liberty to elect, and all our Peers, and such as shall be elected Members of our House of Commons, shall have free liberty and Freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they have taken Arms, or committed any act of Hostility, or been any way aiding or assisting therein. And for the better assurance hereof, We have graciously directed a general Pardon to our Subjects, to be forthwith prepared to pass our Great Seal.

'And for the reconciling all publick Breaches, and obliterating the very Memory of all past Miscarriages, We do hereby exhort and kindly admonish all our Subjects to dispose themselves to elect such persons for their Representatives in Parliament, as may not be byassed by Prejudice or Passion, but qualifi'd with Parts, Experience, and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture, and agreeable to the ends and purposes of this our Gracious Proclamation.

The Account of this Resolution going to the *Fleet*, all the Officers and the Admirals drew up this Address: *Decemb.*

To

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty;

*The Humble Address of* George *Lord* Dartmouth, *Admiral of your Majesty's Fleet, for the present Expedition; and the Commanders of your Majesty's Ships of War, now actually at the* Spithead, *in your Majesty's Service, under his Lordship's Command.*

*Most Dread Soveraign,*

*Decemb.* THE deep Sense we have had of the great Dangers your Majesty's Sacred Person has been in, and the great effusion of Christian Blood that threatned these your Majesty's Kingdoms, and in all probability would have been shed, unless God o. His infinite Mercy had put it into your Majesty's Heart to call a Parliament, the only means, in our Opinions, under the Almighty, left to quiet the Minds of your People; we do give your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks for your gracious Condescension, beseeching Almighty God to give your Majesty all imaginable Happiness and Prosperity, and to grant, that such Counsels and Resolutions may be promoted, as conduce to your Majesty's Honour and Safety, and tend to the Peace and Settlement of this Realm, both in Church and State, according to the established Laws of the Kingdom.

Signed———

*Dartmouth.*
*Berkley.*
*Ro. Strickland.*

On board the *Resolution*, at *Spithead*, *Decemb.* 1. 1688.

And under them, by 38 other Commanders.

In the week following, the pretended Prince of *Wales* was sent down to *Portsmouth*, with Orders to the Lord *Dartmouth* to send him under a good Convoy with his Nurse into *France*. This he was said to have utterly refused; whereupon he was brought back to *London* again on *Saturday Dec.* 8. and the Queen resolved to go over with him her self; and not contented with this, extorted from the King a Promise to follow her himself: Which was the very worst Counsel the worst Enemy he had in the World could possibly have given him.

But

But to return back, *Scotland* was by this time almost in as bad a condition as *England*, and some of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* were sent up with a Petition for a Free Parliament; and the Popish Chapels at *York*, *Bristol*, *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Woolverhampton*, *Bromidgham*, *Cambridge*, and St. *Edmond's Bury*, were about this time demoliſhed, and where-ever the Lords in Arms came, the Papiſts were diſarmed: And in *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, their Lord-Lieutenant, had a great appearance of the Gentry with him, where he and they declared for a Free Parliament, and the Protection of the Proteſtant Religion. This meeting was at *Norwich* the Firſt of *December*, and after that, the ſame Declaration was renewed at *Yarmouth*, and *Lin*, and the *Suffolk* men approved of it, but wanted a Lord Lieutenant to aſſemble and head them, in order to the ſhewing their concurrence with ſafety. *Decemb.*

*Briſtol* was ſeized by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe*; the Lord *Lovelace* was delivered by the Gentry of *Glouceſterſhire*, out of the Caſtle of *Glouceſter*, where till then he had been impriſoned. The Lords, *Molineux* and *Aſton*, in the mean time ſeized *Cheſter* for the King, being R.C's, and *Berwick* ſtood firm to him too; but *New-Caſtle* received the Lord *Lumly*, and Declared for a Free Parliament and the Proteſtant Religion: *York* was in the hands of the aſſociated Lords; and the Garriſon of *Hull* ſeized the Lord *Langdale* their Governour, a Papiſt, and the Lord *Montgomery*, and diſarmed ſome Popiſh Forces newly ſent thither, and then Declared for a Free Parliament and the Proteſtant Religion: And *Plimouth* had long before ſubmitted to the Prince of *Orange*: And the Army at *Reading*, upon another falſe Alarm on *Saturday* the 8th. of *December*, retired in great haſte to *Twyford Bridge*, and endeavouring to regain their poſt, on *Sunday* the 9th of *December*, a Party of the Prince's men, who were ſent for by the Inhabitants of *Reading*, upon their threatning to plunder and fire the Town, attacked the Iriſh Dragoons, and ſlew Fifty of them, the Iriſh making little Defence, tho' the Prince's Party were much fewer in number, becauſe they believed the whole Army was at hand.

The Author of *the Exact Diary of the late Expedition*, &c. p. 69. informs us that the *Iriſh* had fortified *Maiden-head* bridge in *Berkſhire*, planting on the middle of the Bridge two Great Guns and ſeveral others in a Brick-houſe, ſeated between the Bridge and

*Novemb.* and the Town, and here they were resolved bravely to defend the passage against the Princes Men, but a parcel of Countrey Men getting each of them an Old Tub about Mid-night, beat the *Dutch* March, at a certain equal distance each from other: The *Irish* frighted at the Noise ran quite away, and next Morning no Man could tell what was become of them, And the *Prince*'s Men found and took away the *Cannon.*

The Popish Party was become so contemptible in *London*, that on *Thursday* the Sixth of *December* there was an *Hue and Cry after Father Peters*, publickly cried and sold in the Streets of *London.* But this was not the worst neither; for about the same time came forth this following Declaration, in the Name of the Prince of *Orange.*

*By his Highness* William Henry, *Prince of* Orange,
*A Third Declaration.*

'WE have in the course of our whole life, more particularly by the apparent hazards both by Sea and Land, 'to which we have so lately exposed our Person, given to the 'whole World so high and undoubted Proofs of our fervent 'Zeal for the Protestant Religion, that we are fully confident 'no true Englishman and good Protestant can entertain the 'least Suspition of our firm Resolution, rather to spend our dear-'est Blood and perish in the Attempt, than not to carry on the 'blessed and glorious Design, which by the favour of Heaven 'we have so successfully begun, to rescue *England*, *Scotland* and '*Ireland* from SLAVERY and POPERY, and in a *Free Parliament* 'to Establish the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberties of these 'Kingdoms on such a sure and lasting Foundation, that it shall 'not be in the Power of any Prince for the future to introduce *Popery* and *Tyranny.*

'Towards the more easie compassing this great Design, we 'have not been hitherto deceived in the just Expectation we 'had of the concurrence of the Nobility, Gentry, and People 'of *England* with us, for the Security of their Religion, and 'the Restitution of the Laws, and the Re-establishment of 'their Liberties and Properties: Great numbers of all Ranks 'and Qualities having joyned themselves to us; and others, 'at great distances from us, have taken up Arms and Decla-

red

'red for Us. And which we cannot but particularly mention *Decemb.*
'in that Army which was raised to be the Instrument of *Sla-*
'*very* and *Popery*, many (by the special Providence of God)
'both Officers and common Soldiers have been touched with
'such a feeling sense of Religion, and Honour, and of true Affe-
'ction to their Native Country, that they have already deser-
'ted the illegal Service they were engaged in, and have come
'over to Us, and have given us full assurance from the rest of
'the Army, That they will certainly follow this Example, as
'soon as with our Army we shall approach near enough to re-
'ceive them without hazard of being prevented and betray'd:
'To which end, and that we may the sooner execute this just
'and necessary Design we are engaged in for the publick Safety
'and Deliverance of these Nations, We are resolved, with all
'possible diligence, to advance forward, that a *Free Parliament*
'may be forthwith called, and such Preliminaries adjusted
'with the King, and all things first setled upon such a foot ac-
'cording to Law, as may give us and the whole Nation just
'reason to believe the King is disposed to make such necessary
'Condescension on his part, as will give entire Satisfaction and
'Security to all, and make both King and People once more
'happy.

'And that we my effect all this in the way most agreeable to
'our desires, if it be possible, without the effusion of any Blood,
'except of those execrable Criminals who have justly forfeited
'their Lives, for betraying the Religion, and subverting the
'Laws of their Native Country, we do think fit to declare,
'that as we will offer no violence to any but in our own ne-
'cessary defence; so we will not suffer any injury to be done to
'the Person even of any Papist, provided he be found in such
'place and condition and circumstances as the Laws require.
'So we are resolved and do declare, That all Papists who
'shall be found in open Arms, or with Arms in their
'Houses, or about their Persons, or in any Office or Employ-
'ment Civil or Military, upon any pretence whatsoever, con-
'trary to the known Laws of the Land, shall be treated by
'Us and our Forces, not as Soldiers and Gentlemen, but as
'Robbers, Free-booters, and *Banditti*: They shall be incapable
'of Quarter, and intirely delivered up to the Discretion of our
'Soldiers. And we do further declare, That all Persons who

*Decemb.* 'shall be found any ways aiding and assisting to them, or shall 'march under their Command, or shall joyn with, or submit to 'them in the discharge or execution of their illegal Commissions or Authority, shall be looked upon as Partakers of their 'Crimes, Enemies to the Laws, and to their Country.

'And whereas we are certainly informed, that great numbers of Armed Papists have of late resorted to *London* and *Westminster*, and Parts adjacent, where they remain, as we have 'reason to suspect, not so much for their own Security, as out 'of a wicked and barbarous Design to make some desperate 'Attempts upon the said Cities, and the Inhabitants, by Fire, 'or a sudden Massacre, or both, or else to be the more ready 'to joyn themselves to a Body of *French* Troops, designed, if 'it be possible, to land in *England*, procured of the *French* King 'by the Interest and Power of the Jesuits in pursuance of the 'Engagements, which, at the Instigation of that pestilent Society, his Most Christian Majesty, with one of his Neighbouring Princes of the same Communion, has entred into, 'for the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion out of '*Europe*. Though we hope we have taken such effectual care to 'prevent the one, and secure the other, that by God's assistance, we cannot doubt but we shall defeat all their wicked 'Enterprises and Designs.

'We cannot however forbear, out of our great and tender 'concern we have to preserve the People of *England*, and particularly those great and populous Cities, from the cruel Rage, 'and bloody Revenge of the Papists, to require and expect 'from all the Lord-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, Lord 'Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates and Officers 'Civil and Military, of all Counties, Cities and Towns of '*England*, especially of the County of *Middlesex*, and Cities 'of *London* and *Westminster*, and Parts adjacent, that they do 'immediately disarm and secure, as by Law they may and 'ought, within their respective Counties, Cities and Jurisdictions, all *Papists* whatsoever, as Persons at all times, but now 'especially, most dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the Government, that so not only all power of doing Mischief may 'be taken from them, but that the Laws, which are the 'greatest and best Security, may resume their force, and be 'strictly executed.

'And

'And we do hereby likewise declare, That we will protect *Decemb.*
'and defend all those who shall not be afraid to do their
'Duty in Obedience to these Laws. And that for those Ma-
'gistrates and others, of what condition soever they be, who
'shall refuse to assist Us, and in Obedience to the Laws to
'execute vigorously what we have required of them, and suf-
'fer themselves at this juncture, to be cajolled or terrified out
'of their Duty, we will esteem them the most Criminal and
'Infamous of all Men, Betrayers of their Religion, the Laws,
'and their Native Country, and shall not fail to treat them
'accordingly; resolving to expect and require at their hands
'the Life of every single Protestant that shall perish, and eve-
'ry House that shall be burnt and destroyed by Treachery
'and Cowardize.

*Given under our Hand and Seal, at our Head Quarters at* Sherburn Castle, *the Twenty eighth of* November, 1688.

WILLIAM HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

*By his Highness's special Command,*

C. HUYGENS.

This was the boldest Attempt that ever was made by a private Person; for it is certain the Prince knew nothing of this *Declaration*, and disowned it so soon as he heard of it; but yet it was printed in *London*, and a quantity of them were sent in a Penny-Post Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, who forthwith carried them to the King to *Whitehall*; and it is thought this sham Paper contributed very much to the fixing and hastning his Resolution of leaving the Nation: however there was no enquiry made after the Author or Printer of it that I could take notice of.

On *Sunday* the Ninth of *December* it is said Count *Dada*, the Pope's *Nuncio*, and many others departed from *Whitehall*, and the next Morning about three or four of the Clock, the Queen, the Child and (as was said) Father *Peters* trolled the Water to *Lambeth* in three Coaches, each of six Horses, and with a strong Guard went to *Greenwich*, and so to *Gravesend*,

*Decemb.* where they imbarked on a Yatch for *France*: And it is ſuppoſed ſhe carried the Great Seal of *England* with her, it having never appeared after this *.

* The 3d. of *May* the Seal was found in the bottom of the *Thames* by a Fiſher-man, in a Red bag, between *Lambeth* and *Fox-Hall*, and preſented to the King.

Before this the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, had been ſent by the King and Council to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, and to adjuſt the Preliminaries in order to the holding of a Parliament, who the Eighth of *December* ſent theſe Propoſals to him.

*SIR*,

'THE King commanded us to acquaint you, That he obſerveth all the differences and cauſes of Complaint alledged 'by your Highneſs, ſeem to be referred to a *Free Parliament*.

'His Majeſty, as he hath already declared, was reſolved before this to call one, but thought that in the preſent ſtate of 'Affairs, it was adviſeable to defer it till things were more 'compoſed; yet ſeeing that his People ſtill continue to deſire it, 'he hath put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and hath 'iſſued forth his Writs for the Calling of it.

☞ 'And to prevent any cauſe of Interruption in it, he will conſent to every thing that can be reaſonably required for the Security of all thoſe that come to it.

'His Majeſty hath therefore ſent us to attend your Highneſs, 'for the adjuſting of all Matters that ſhall be agreed to be neceſſary to the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting, 'and is ready to enter immediately into a Treaty in order to it.

'His Majeſty propoſeth, that in the mean time the reſpective Armies may be retained within ſuch Limits, and at ſuch 'diſtance from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehenſions that 'the Parliament may be in any kind diſturbed, being deſirous 'that the Meeting may be no longer delay'd, than it muſt be by 'the uſual and neceſſary Forms.

*Hallifax*,
*Nottingham*,
*Godolphin*.

*Hungerford*, the 8th. of *December* 1688.

To

*Decemb.*

To this his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange* return'd this Answer

'WE, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen assembled with Us, have in Answer made these following Proposals.

'I. That all Papists, and such Persons as are not qualified by Law, be Disarmed, Disbanded, and removed from all Employments Civil and Military.

'II. That all Proclamations that reflect upon Us, or any that have come to Us, or declared for Us, be recalled; and that if any Persons for having assisted Us have been Committed, that they be forthwith set at Liberty.

'III. That for the Security and Safety of the City of *London*, the Custody and Government of the Tower be immediately put into the Hands of the said City.

'IV. That if His Majesty should think fit to be in *London*, during the Sitting of the Parliament, that We may be there also, with an equal number of our Guards; and if his Majesty shall be pleased to be in any place from *London*, whatever distance he thinks fit, that We may be the same distance, and that the respective Armies be from *London* forty Miles, and that no further Forces be brought into the Kingdom.

'V. And that for the Security of the City of *London*, and their Trade, *Tilbury* Fort be put into the Hands of the City.

'VI. That a sufficient part of the Publick Revenue be assigned us, for the Support and Maintenance of our Troops, until the Sitting of a Free Parliament.

'VII. That to prevent the landing of the *French*, or other Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* may be put into such Hands, as by His Majesty and Us shall be agreed on.

*Littlecot, Decemb.* 9. 1688.

*Tilbury Fort* Fort was then garison'd by the *Irish*, and there were a great many of them and other *Papists* in *Portsmouth*.

This Answer was sent to His Majesty on *Monday* the Tenth of *December*, by an Express. 'When his Majesty received this 'Letter, he could not but give this just Character of the *Prince's* 'Proposals 14.

The Letter to a Bishop, pag.

*Decemb.* 'Propoſals, *viz. That they were fairer than he could, or did expect*; 'So that he had no Reaſon then to be afraid of his Perſon, but 'might have continued with Security in his Palace, and taken 'care of the Government, and called ſuch a Parliament as both 'himſelf and the Prince deſired, which might have quietly and 'effectually ſetled this Nation, and prevented all ill Conſequen-'ces to his Perſon or to his Affairs. Yet he reſolved to leave the Nation, and ordered all thoſe Writs for the Sitting of the Parliament, that were not ſent out, to be burnt, and a *Caveat* to be entred againſt the making uſe of thoſe that were ſent down: And at the ſame time he ſent Order to the Earl of *Feverſham*, to disband the Army, and diſmiſs the Soldiers.

The ſame Evening the King ſent for the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs, to *Whitehal*, and having acquainted them with the Departure of the Queen and Child, and his Intentions to ſtay with them, he laid a ſtrict Charge upon them to take care of the City, and to keep it in Peace: After which the Council was a long time in debate, and a meeting was appointed the next Morning: What was the ſubject of their Conſideration is not known.

The Letter to the Earl of *Feverſham* was in this Form.

'THings being come to that Extremity, that I have been 'forced to ſend away the Queen, and my Son the Prince 'of *Wales*, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands, 'which they muſt have done if they had ſtay'd: I am obliged 'to do the ſame thing, in hopes it will pleaſe God, out of his 'infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts 'again with true Loyalty and Honour. If I could have rely'd 'on all my Troops, I might not have been put to the Extremi-'ty I now am in, and would at leaſt have had one Blow for it. 'But though I know there are many and brave Men among 'you, both Officers and Soldiers; yet you know, that both 'you, and ſeveral of the General Officers and Soldiers, and 'Men of the Army, told me, It was no waies adviſable for 'me, to venture my ſelf at their Head, or to think to fight 'the Prince of *Orange* with them.

'And now there remains only for me to thank you, and all 'thoſe, both Officers and Soldiers, who have ſtuck to me, and 'been truly Loyal. I hope you will ſtill retain the ſame Fide-

'lity

'lity to me; and though I do not expect you should expose *Decemb.*
'your selves, by resisting a Foreign Army, and a Poyson'd Na-
'tion; yet I hope your former Principles are so inrooted in
'you, that you will keep your selves free from Associations, and
'such pernicious things. Time presseth, so that I can add no more.

*James Rex.*

The Earl of *Feversham*, presently after the receit of this Letter, Disbanded Four thousand Men, which was all the Army he had then with him, and under his Command; * after which he sent this Letter to the Prince of *Orange*.

* An ingenious Gent. who made reflections on the defects of this History (for which the Author is thankful) wisheth an exact account were given here what were become of all the late Kings Forces, besides these 4000, when and how they went off, but there seems to have been all the care imaginable taken to conceal these things from us, and the Author is not able to do it without information from others.

*SIR,*

'HAving received this Morning a Letter from His Majesty,
'with the unfortunate News of his Resolution to go out
'of *England*; I thought my self obliged, being at the Head of
'his Army, and having received his Orders, to make no Op-
'position against any body; to let your Highness know it,
'with the Advice of the Officers here, so soon as was possible,
'to hinder the effusion of Blood. I have ordered already, to
'that purpose, all the Troops that are under my Command;
'which shall be the last Order they shall receive from

*Feversham.*

This was to all intents and purposes a clear and full *Abdication* or *Desertion* of the Army, and put them under an inevitable necessity of submitting to the Prince of *Orange*, they having no body to Lead or Head them against him. And it is not conceivable how they could keep themselves from entring into an *Association*, or *Oath of Allegiance* to the Prince, now he was gone, without *exposing themselves, by resisting a Foreign Army, and a Poyson'd Nation.* For neither could the Nation long continue without a Prince, nor would any Person that succeeded in her Capacity,

*Decemb.* Capacity, have ever suffered them to live within his Government, without giving him Security by Oath, for their Submission and Loyalty to him: So that the whole design of this Letter seems to be the Sowing a Division in the Nation; that at the same time he left us, we might not unite or settle our selves under the other, but by our *Principles* be divided, that so he might the more easily reduce us again into the State we were in, when the Prince first designed his Expedition against *England*.

This being done, about Three of the Clock in the morning, *December* the 11th. the King went down the River in a small Boat, towards *Gravesend*: The principal Officers of the Army about the Town thereupon met about Ten of the Clock at *Whitehall*, and sent an Express to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the Departure of the King, and to assure him, that they would assist the Lord Mayor, to keep the City quiet till his Highness came, and made the Souldiery to enter into his Service.

Much about the same time, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about the Town came to *Guildhall*, and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, made the following Declaration.

*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about the Cities of* London *and* Westminster, *Assembled at* Guild-Hall *the* 11th. *of* December, 1688.

'WE doubt not but the World believes, that in this great 'and dangerous Conjuncture we are heartily and zea- 'lously concerned for the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the 'Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And 'we did reasonably hope, that the King having issued out his 'Proclamation and Writs for a Free Parliament, we might 'have rested secure under the expectation of that Meeting: But 'His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we appre- 'hend, in order to his departure out of this Kingdom, by the 'pernicious Counsels of Persons ill affected to our Nation 'and Religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, 'be silent under those Calamities, wherein the Popish Coun- 'sels which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these 'Realms. We do therefore unanimously resolve to apply our 'selves to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who with so

great

'great Kindness to these Kingdoms, so vast Expence, and so *Decemb.*
'much Hazard, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure
'a Free Parliament, to rescue us (with as little effusion of
'Christian Blood as possible) from the imminent Dangers of
'*Popery* and *Slavery*.

'And we do hereby declare, That we will with our utmost
'Endeavours assist his Highness, in the obtaining such a Par-
'liament with all speed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and
'Properties may be secured, the Church of *England* in particu-
'lar, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and in gene-
'ral, the Protestant Religion and Interest, over the whole
'World, may be supported and encouraged, to the Glory of
'GOD, the Happiness of the Established Government in
'these Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes and States
'in *Christendom*, that may be herein concerned.

'In the mean time we will endeavour to preserve, as much
'as in us lies, the Peace and Security of these great and popu-
'lous Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent,
'by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and
'Romish Priests, who are in or about the same.

'And if there be any thing more to be performed by Us for
'promoting his Highness's Generous Intentions for the Publick
'Good, we shall be ready to do it as occasion requires.

Signed———

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *W. Cant.* | *Sussex.* | *P. Wharton.* |
| *T. Ebor.* | *Berkeley.* | *North and Grey.* |
| *Pembrook.* | *Rochester.* | *Chandois.* |
| *Dorset.* | *Newport.* | *Montague.* |
| *Mulgrave.* | *Weymouth.* | *T. Jermyn.* |
| *Thanet.* | *P Winchester.* | *Vaughan Carbery,* |
| *Carliste.* | *W. Asaph.* | *Culpeper.* |
| *Craven.* | *F. Ely.* | *Crewe.* |
| *Ailesbury.* | *Tho. Roffen.* | *Osulston.* |
| *Burlington.* | *Tho. Petriburg.* | |

'Whereas His Majesty hath privately this Morning with-
'drawn himself, we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose
'Names are hereunto Subscribed, being assembled in *Guild-*

*Decemb.* 'Hall in *London*, having agreed upon and Signed a Declaration 'of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the Cities 'of *London* and *Westminster*, assembled at *Guild-Hall* the 11th. of 'December, 1688. do desire the Right Honourable the Earl of 'Pembrook, the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, 'the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and 'the Right Honourable the Lord *Culpeper*, forthwith to attend 'His Highness the Prince of *Orange* with the said Declaration, 'and at the same time to acquaint His Highness with what 'we have further done at this Meeting. Dated at *Guild-Hall* 'the 11th. of *December*, 1688.

The Lords, before they came down to the City, had appointed the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and the Common Council, to be assembled, to consert with them the means of preserving the City and Kingdom; and when the Peers had thus led the way, they presently resolved also on the following Address to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*:

*May it please your Highness,*

'WE taking into consideration your Highness's servent 'Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, manifested to the 'World in your many hazardous Enterprises, wherein it hath 'pleased Almighty God to bless you with miraculous Success, 'do render our deepest thanks to the Divine Majesty for the 'same, and beg leave to present our most humble Thanks to 'your Highness, particularly for your appearing in Arms in 'this Kingdom, to carry on and perfect your glorious Designs 'to rescue *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* from Slavery and Po-'pery, and in a Free-Parliament, to establish the Religion, and 'the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms upon a sure and 'lasting Foundation.

'We have hitherto looked for some remedy for those Op-'pressions and imminent Dangers, which we, together with 'our Protestant Fellow-Subjects, laboured under, from His Ma-'jesty's Concessions and Concurrences with your Highness's 'just and pious Purposes expressed in your Gracious Declaration.

'But herein finding our selves finally disappointed by His 'Majesty's withdrawing himself, we presume to make your 'Highness our Refuge; and do in the Name of this Capital

'City,

'City, implore your Highness's Protection, and most humbly *Decemb.*
'beseech your Highness to repair to this City, where your
'Highness will be received with universal Joy and Satis-
'faction.

This Address being approved and Signed, four Aldermen and eight Commoners were appointed to attend his Highness with it.

The same day the Lieutenancy of *London* Signed this following Address, to the Prince of *Orange*, at *Guild-Hall*, and sent it by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Knight; Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Basil Firebrace*, Knights; and *Charles Duncomb*, Esquire.

*May it please your Highness,*

'WE can never sufficiently express the deep sense we
'have conceived, and shall ever retain in our Hearts,
'that your Highness has exposed your Person to so many Dan-
'gers by Sea and Land, for the preservation of the Protestant
'Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, with-
'out which unparallel'd Undertaking, we must probably have
'suffered all the Miseries that *Popery* and *Slavery* could have
'brought upon us.

'We have been greatly concerned, that before this time
'we had not any seasonable opportunity to give your Highness
'and the World a real Testimony, That it has been our firm
'Resolution, to venture all that is dear to us, to attain those
'Glorious Ends which your Highness has propos'd for resto-
'ring and setling these distracted Nations.

'We therefore now unanimously present to your Highness
'our just and due acknowledgments for that happy Relief you
'have brought to us; and that we may not be wanting in this
'present Conjuncture, we have put our selves into such a
'posture, that (by the Blessing of God) we may be capable
'to prevent all ill Designs, and to preserve this City in Peace
'and Safety, till your Highness's happy Arrival.

'We therefore humbly desire, that your Highness will
'please to repair to this City with what convenient speed
'you can, for the perfecting the Great Work which your
'Highness has so happily begun, to the general joy and sa-
'tisfaction of us all.

*Decemb.* After his Highness had certain Intelligence that the King was gone back to *London*, he came forward by easie Journeys, and entered *Salisbury* on *Tuesday* the 4th. of *December*. The 5th. the Earl of *Oxford* came thither to him. The same day, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Sir *Edw. Harley*, and most of the Gentry of *Worcestershire* and *Hereford shire*, met at *Worcester*, and Declared for the Prince of *Orange*. *Ludlow* Castle was also taken in for him by the Lord *Herbert* and Sir *Walter Blunt*, and the Popish Sheriff of *Worcester* secured in it by that Peer. The 7th. of *December* his Highness came on to *Hungerford*; the 8th. the Lords sent by the King came thither to him, and had the Dispatch I have mentioned; and after Dinner, he went to *Lidcot*. The 14th. the Commissioners of the Peers, Common-Council, and Lieutenancy of *London*, presented the three Addresses to the Prince at *Henly*. The 15th. his Highness entered *Windsor* about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The King in his departure put himself aboard a small *Yatch* or *Smack*, commanded by one Captain *Sanders*, but was forced for shelter to take into *East Swale*, (the Eastern part of the Isle of *Sheppy*) in order to the taking in Ballast; where the Inhabitants of *Feversham* in *Kent* being out to take up Jesuits and other suspected Persons, found this small Vessel and seized it, on *Wednesday* the 12th. of *December*, there were then present with him Sir *Edward Hales* and Mr. *Labady*, and none of them being known at first, they were very ill treated by the Seamen, and brought up to *Feversham* as suspicious Persons: The King being come there, and by that time known, he lodged that night at the Mayor's House, and sent for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Lord-Lieutenant of that County to come to him.

The Lord *Feversham* having received a Letter from the King, the 11th. of *December*, disbanded Four thousand Men (which was all the Army was left) at *Uxbridge*, where their head Quarters then were, as I have said. The same day, the Dutch Officers taken in the Fly-boat, and till then imprisoned in *Newgate*, were discharged.

The 12th. of *December*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal sate in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*; and it was absolutely necessary they should, the noise of the King's withdrawing having put the Rabble of *London* into such a Ferment

as had scarce been seen. That night they demolished the Popish Convent and Chappel at St. *John's* (which they had attempted before the King went away, and had hardly been prevented from destroying it, by the Death of three or four Persons) the Convent and Chapel of Fryars in *Lincolns Inn Fields*, and the Popish Chapels in *Lime-street* and *Buckler's-Berry*, and the Chapel at *Wildhouse*, which was the Residence of the Spanish Ambassador. Out of the Materials of these Buildings they made great Piles, and at Night fired them instead of Bonfires; and the number that ran together was incredible, and very terrible not only to the Roman Catholicks, but to all considering Men, who did reflect seriously on the nature of the Times, and the rage of the People. The same day therefore the Lords put out an order for the discovery of the Goods taken from the Spanish Ambassador, promising a good Reward, and commanding all Books and Papers taken out of his Library, to be brought to the Council-Chamber in *Whitehall*. *Decemb.*

The same day the late Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys* was taken at *Wapping* in a disguise, and sent to the *Tower* first by the Lord Mayor, which after was confirm'd by the Peers and Privy-Council.

The 13th. an Account being brought, That the King was taken at *Feversham*, several of his Servants went down to him; but I do not find the Peers or Council sate that day. During the King's being here, his frequent Expression to those Persons of Quality who tendred him their Service, was, *The most acceptable Service you can do me, is to facilitate my Departure, and procure means for my going beyond Sea.* *Advantages of the Present Government*, pag. 22.

The 14th. the Privy-Council and Peers met again, and made this Order:

'WE the Peers of this Realm, assembled with some of 'the Lords of the Privy Council, do hereby require 'all *Irish* Officers and Soldiers to repair forthwith to the re-'spective Bodies to which they do or did lately belong; and 'do hereby declare, That behaving themselves peaceably, 'they shall have Subsistence paid them, till they shall be other-'wise provided for or employed. And the said Officers and 'Soldiers are to deliver up their Arms to some of the Officers 'of the Ordnance, who are to deposite the same in the Stores

in

*Decemb.* 'in the Tower of *London*. And we do require and command all 'Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other Officers whom 'it may concern, That they apprehend and seize all such Soldiers as shall not repair to their respective Bodies, and that 'they be dealt with as Vagabonds.

*Given at the Council Chamber at* Whitehall, *the Fourteenth of* December, 1688.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tho. Ebor.* | *Rochester,* |
| *Halifax,* | *N. Dumesm.* |
| *Dorset,* | *P. Winchester,* |
| *Carlisle,* | *North and Grey,* |
| *Craven,* | *J. Trevor,* |
| *Nottingham,* | *J. Titus.* |

It was but time to put out this Order; for, on *Thursday* Morning, the 13th. of *December*, about Three of the Clock, there was a dreadful Alarm, That the *Irish*, in a desperate rage, were approaching the City, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword as they came along; whereupon the Citizens all rose, placing Lights in their Windows from top to bottom, and guarded every Man his own Doors, with his Musquet charged with Bullet; and all the Trainbands in the City were assembled; and there was nothing but shooting, and beating of Drums all night. This Alarm spread it self the whole length and breadth of the Kingdom of *England*; and all that were able to bear Arms appeared at their several places, vowing the defence of their Lives, Religion, Laws and Liberties; and resolving to destroy all the *Irish* and Papists in *England*, in case any injury were offered them; but then there were very few Papists slain in these Tumults and Frights, but their Houses were generally rifled on pretence of searching for Arms and Ammunition.

The Lords, after this, sent the Lords *Feversham*, *Ailesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Middleton*, most humbly to entreat the King to return to *Whitehall*; and ordered his Guards to go down to him, to see him safe on board any Ship he should chuse, if he persisted in his Resolution to go out of the Nation. With them went the Servants of his Houshold, to carry him Money and Cloaths, all he had of the former being taken from him by the Seamen, and his Cloaths rent and torn in the searching of

of him before he was known, as he had in part signified in a Letter to the Lord *Feversham*. Now considering the whole Nation, in a manner, had submitted to the Prince of *Orange*, before the King was heard of, after he had withdrawn himself, it had perhaps been but reasonable to have suspended the inviting him back to *Whitehall*, till they had received his Consent, or at least asked it, or had called a greater Assembly of the Peers than that day met. *Decemb.*

The 12th day, the four Lords sent by the Peers, with four Aldermen, and eight of the Common Council of *London*, parted to wait upon the Prince of *Orange* with the Declaration signed by the Body of the Peers the day before at *Guildhall*, and an Address from the Common-Council.

And the 14th. of *December* they all met and delivered their Addresses to the Prince of *Orange* at *Henly*; and the next day the Prince came on and entred *Windsor*, erecting his Standard on that Noble Castle.

The 15th. the King removed to *Rochester*, in order to his Return to *London*, and some of his Troops of Guards went down thither to him: And the next day, being *Sunday*, he returned about Five in the Evening to *Whitehall*, attended by one Troop of Grenadiers, and three Troops of Life-Guard, a Set of Boys following him through the City, and making some Huzza's, while the rest of the People silently looked on. His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Windsor*, had sent Monsieur *Zulestein* to the King, to desire him to continue at *Rochester*; but he missing him, the King came to *Whitehall*, and from thence sent the Lord *Feversham* to the Prince to *Windsor*, to invite him to St. *James*'s, with what number of Troops he should think fit to bring with him; he could now do no otherwise, his own Army having been disbanded by his own Order, all the Forts in *England*, except *Portsmouth*, being in the Prince's hands; and *London*, and almost all the Peers having in his absence sent their Submission, and inviting him to come forthwith to Town, to take upon him the Care of the City.

This Letter being by the Prince referred to the Peers that were then at *Windsor*, they concluded, that the shortness of the time could admit no better Expedient, than that the King might be desired to remove to some place within a reasonable distance from

*Decemb.* from *London*; and *Ham*, a House belonging to the Dutchess of *Lauderdale* was pitched upon, and a Note or Paper to that purpose drawn up.

'WE desire you the Lord Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl 'of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the 'King, That it is thought convenient, for the great quiet of the 'City, and the greater safety of his Person, that he do remove 'to *Ham*, where he shall be attended by his Guards, who will 'be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

*Given at* Windsor, *the Seventeenth of* December, 1688.

W. Prince de Orange.

Monsieur *Zuleستein* followed the King to *London*, and there delivered his Letter, and the Sixteenth returned to *Windsor*. The Earl of *Feversham* went the same day with a Letter to the Prince, and was by him committed to the Castle of *Windsor*.

The Discontented Party in the Nation are very much concern'd to know the true cause of the Commitment of this Earl; but it having not yet been published, it can be known only by Conjecture: And as we are ignorant of the Reasons of many of the Actions of the *last* Reign; so we may well be contented not to know this for the *present*. However he was soon after set at liberty, at the request of the Queen *Dowager*. The Author of the *History of the Revolution of England*, in French, saith, The Earl of *Feversham* was committed, because he had Disbanded the Army after he knew the King was gone, without Order, and without Disarming the *Irish*. The truth is, this caused great Disorders, which might easily have been foreseen, and as easily have been prevented, by keeping them together till they were regularly disposed of and paid. What Authority that Gentleman had for this, I know not.

The King, so soon as ever he came to *Whitehall*, issued out this following Order of Council:

*Decemb.*

*At the Court at* Whitehall, *the Sixteenth day of* December, 1688.

Present

*The King's most Excellent Majesty,*

| | |
|---|---|
| Duke Hamilton, | Lord Viscount *Preston*, |
| Earl of *Craven*, | Lord *Godolphin*, |
| Earl of *Berkley*, | Master of the Rolls, |
| Earl of *Middleton*, | Mr. *Titus*. |

'HIS Majesty being given to understand, That divers 'Outrages and Disorders are committed in several Parts 'of the Kingdom, by Burning, Pulling-down, and otherwise 'Defacing Houses, and other Buildings, and Rifling and Plun-'dering the same, to the great terror of His Majesty's Subjects, 'and manifest Breach of the Peace, His Majesty in Council is 'pleased to Direct and Command all Lord-Lieutenants, De-'puty-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables, 'and all other Officers whom it may concern, to use their ut-'most endeavours for the preventing of such Outrages and 'Disorders for the future, and for the suppressing all riotous 'and tumultuous Meetings and Assemblies whatsoever.

*William Bridgeman.*

There having been sufficient care taken for this by the Coun-cil before, it was not consistent with his Interest thus to shew his Zeal for the Popish Party in the very first Act he did upon his return, as if he had come back only to serve them.

During the time the King staid at *Whitehall*, it was crowded with Irishmen, Priests, Jesuits, and Roman Catholicks, after the old wont; and one of the Priests sent an imperious Message to the Earl of *Mulgrave* the Lord Chamberlain, to furnish his Lodgings with new Furniture, for he meant to continue in them. And the King also discharged *Leiburn* a Popish Bi-shop, out of *Newgate*, on *Monday* the Seventeenth of *December*: So that all things were returning apparently into the old Cha-nel, and we were to expect nothing but what we had already seen and felt; and some that wished well to the King, said, he was cunningly invited back to *Whitehall*, with a design to ruine him the more effectually, and without any pity from his Protestant Subjects.

*Decemb.* The Peers at *Windsor* did not think it reasonable, hearing this, that the Prince of *Orange* should accept the King's Invitation, and venture his Person in the same place: for this they had another good reason, the Duke of *Grafton* marching through the *Strand*, on the Fourteenth day, at the Head of a Foot Regiment of Guards, to take the Fort of *Tilbury* out of the hands of the *Irish*, by the Order of the Council, an *Irish* Trooper came riding up to him, and being beaten off by the Soldiers, drew a Pistol against him; for which he was shot dead upon the place. And it was not improbable there were more of the same temper.

Hereupon the Peers at *Windsor* resolved to send the Prince's Guards to take Possession of the Posts about *Whitehall*, to prevent all possibility of a Disturbance from Guards belonging to two several Masters; which, besides other ill Consequences, might have perhaps involved the King's own Person in the danger that might have arisen from any Dispute. These Guards got not to *London* before Ten at Night, being commanded by Count *Solmes*; and the Guards then on Duty not being willing to dislodge, it was Twelve at Night before the Lords could deliver the Paper they had brought from *Windsor*, of which they first sent this Account to Secretary *Middleton*.

*My Lord,*

'THere is a Message to be delivered to His Majesty from 'the Prince, which is of so great Importance, that we 'who are charged with it, desire we may be immediately ad-'mitted; and therefore desire to know where we may find 'your Lordship, that you may introduce, My Lord,

*Your Lordship's most Humble Servants,*

Hallifax,
Shrewsbury,
Delamere.

He

He accordingly presently introduced them, the King being by that time in Bed. Where they made an Apology for coming at so unseasonable a time; and delivering him the Paper, the King read it, and said he would comply with it. Upon which the Lords humbly desired he would remove so early as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to prevent meeting the Prince in his way to *London*, where he was to come the same day: His Majesty readily agreed to this too, and asked whether he might not appoint what Servants should attend him; to which the Lords replied, That it was left to him to give order in that as he pleased, and so took their leave of him. When they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King sent for them again, and told them, He had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolutions before the Message came, To send my Lord *Godolphin* next Morning to the Prince, to propose his going back to *Rochester*, he finding by the Message Monsieur *Zulestein* was charged with, the Prince had no mind he should be at *London*; and therefore he now desired he might rather return to *Rochester*, than go to any other place. The Lords replied, That they would immediately send an Account to the Prince of what His Majesty desired, and they did not doubt of such an Answer as would be to his Satisfaction: Accordingly they sent to him, who was then at *Sion*, and before Eight next Morning there came a Letter from Monsieur *Benting*, by the Prince's Order, agreeing to the King's Proposal of going to *Rochester*: whereupon he went (the Guards being made ready and Boats prepared) that Night to *Gravesend*, in his own Barge, attended by the Earl of *Arran*, and some few others. *Decemb.*

The same day, *Dec.* the 18th. about Three in the Afternoon, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came to St. *James's*, attended by Monsieur *Schomberg*, and a great number of the Nobility and Gentry, and was entertain'd with a Joy and Concourse of the People which appeared free and unconstrained, and all the Bells in the City were rung, and Bon-fires in every Street.

*Decemb.* *December* the 20th. the Prince of *Orange* published this Order for the Quarters of the English Forces.

## *HORSE.*

The first Troop of Guards at *Maidstone.*
The second, *Chelmsford* in *Essex.*
The third, S. *Albans*, *Hertfordshire.*
Royal Regiment, *Northampton.*
Queen's Regiment, *Cambridge.*
*Peterborow*, *Bedford.*
* Sir *John Fenwick's*, *Darkin* and *Rigate*,
Lieutenant General *Werden's*, *Newbury.*
* Earl of *Selkirk's*, *Stamford*, *Lincoln.*
* Late *Hamilton's*, *Fenny-Stratford*, *Bucks.*
Princess of *Denmark's*, *Reading.*
Queen Dowagers, *Guilford* and *Godalming.*
Marquess *de Miremont*, *Aylesbury* and *Wendover*, *Bucks.*
Lord *Brandon's*, *Bishop-Stafford.*
* Col. *Henry Slingby's*, *Buckingham* and *Winslow.*
Regiments late of { Colonel *Halman*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, } at *Sevenoke*, *Kent.*

## *DRAGOONS.*

The Royal Regiment, *Farnham* and *Alton*, *Surrey.*
Queen's Regiment, at *Dunstable.*
Princess Regiment, *Burford* in *Oxfordsh.*

## *FOOT.*

First Regiment of Guards. { *Portsmouth*, *Tilbury.*

Colo-

Decemb.

Cold Stream Regiment, *Rochester, Dover, Maidstone.*
Royal Regiment, *Oxford.*
Queen Dowager's, *Wallingford.*
Prince *George's*, *Huntington.*
*Holland* Regiment, *Chesham* and *Amersham.*
Queen's, *Ware* and *Hertford.*
Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, *Barnet.*
Princess of *Denmark's*, *Southampt.*
Late Colonel *Nicholas's*, *Worcester.*
Earl of *Bath's*, *Canterbury.*
Late Earl of *Litchfield's*, *Banbury.*
Earl of *Huntington's*, *Plymouth.*
Late Sir *Edward Hales's*, *Waltham.*
* Colonel *Tufton's*, *Berwick.*
* Colonel *John Hales's*, *Milton* and *Sittingborn.*
* Colonel *Mac Elligot's*, *Chichester.*
* Colonel *Richard's*, *Sudbury.*
Late Colonel *Gage*, *Chester.*
Duke of *Newcastle's*, *Hull*, *Berwick.*
* Colonel *Skelton's*, *Newport-Pagnal.*
Colonel *Arth. Douglas*, *Stony-Stratford.*

## SCOTCH FORCES.

First Troop of Horse Guards, *Bircster.*
Second Regiment of Horse, *Abington.*
Third Regiment of Foot Guards, *Tame.*
Fourth, Late Colonel *Wachop's*, *Woodstock.*
Fifth, Late Colonel *Buchan's*, *Witney*, *Oxf.*
Sixth, Earl of *Dunmore's* Dragoons, *Islip.*

## IRISH FORCES.

Lord *Forbes* Regiment, *Hatfield*, *Herf.*

Colonel

*Decemb.* Colonel *Hamilton*'s, *Lewis.*
Colonel *Butler*'s Regiment of Dragoons, *East-Grinstead.*

Thus were the Forces divided, now there was no further occasion for them, and the plying of this brave Army, which wanted nothing, before 14000 Men, may be a Lesson to all Princes to trust more to the Hearts of their People, than to any Forces without them: And if all this Army could not, or would not maintain *James* II. in his irregular way of Government, what Forces will be requisite to restore him, against the three Estates and the Body of the Nation?

The King continued at *Rochester* till the 23. of *December*, and then about one or two in the morning privately withdrew himself, taking only with him Mr. *Ra. Sheldon* and Mr. *Delahaby*, he went towards *Dover*, and embarqued in a Vessel laid ready for his Transportation for *France*. The Queen, who went hence the 10th. arrived the 11th. at *Calais*, and was in great Pain (not knowing what had hapned in *England*) for the King, whom she expected every Tide.

The Queen, upon her arrival in *France*, dispatched this Letter to that King.

*SIR,*

The Queen's Letter to the French King, transcribed from the *Hist. et des revolutions d'Angleterre. p.* 400

'A Fugitive Queen, bathed in her Tears, has willingly exposed her self to the great Dangers of the Sea, to seek 'the Consolation, and enjoy the Protection of the greatest 'and most Generous Monarch on the Earth: Her ill 'Fortune, has in this however, given her a Satisfaction, which 'the most distant Nations would greedily imbrace. Nor 'should the Necessity of her Affairs diminish the Price of it, 'seeing she has chosen this Sanctuary preferibly to all others, 'which she might have found elsewhere. She thinks she 'has also given a clear Demonstration of the Esteem she has 'for his Majesty's great Qualities, by entrusting the Prince of 'Wales, which was the most valuable thing she has in the 'World, to his Protection. That this Prince was too young 'to joyn with her in the Acknowledgment of the Protection,

'which

'which she persuaded her self she should find in *France*; but then 'the Gratitude of it entirely possessed the Heart of his Mother, 'who, in the midst of her Misfortunes, took Pleasure in living 'under the Shadow of the Laurels of a Prince, who exceeded 'all that ever was great and eminent on the Earth.' *Decemb.*

The King, before he withdrew this second time, wrote and left behind him this following Letter, which was afterwards printed by his Order in *London*.

*His Majesty's Reasons for withdrawing himself from* Rochester; *writ with his own Hand, and ordered by him to be published.*

'THE World cannot wonder at my withdrawing my 'self now this second time. I might have expected 'somewhat better usage after what I writ to the Prince of '*Orange*, by my Lord *Feversham*, and the Instructions I gave 'him; but instead of an Answer, such as I might have hoped 'for, what was I to expect after the usage I received, by the 'making the said Earl a Prisoner, against the Practice and 'Law of Nations; *the sending his own Guards at Eleven at Night*, '*to take Possession of the Posts at* Whitehall, without advertising 'me in the least manner of it; the sending to me at One of 'the Clock at midnight, when I was in Bed, a kind of Order, 'by three Lords, To be gone out of my Palace before twelve, 'that same Morning? After all this, how could I hope to be 'safe, so long as I was in the Power of one, who had not only 'done this to me, and invaded my Kingdoms, without any 'just occasion given him for it, but that did by his first Declara- 'tion lay the greatest Aspersion on me that Malice could invent, 'in *that Clause of it which concerns my Son?* I appeal to all that 'know me, nay, even to himself, that in their Consciences, 'neither he nor they can believe me in the least capable of *so* '*unnatural a Villany*, nor of so little common Sence, to be im- 'posed on in a thing of such a nature as that. What had I then 'to expect from one, who by all Arts hath taken such pains to

'make-

*Decemb.* 'make me appear as **Black as Hell**, to my own people, as 'well as to all the World besides? What effect that hath had at 'home, all Mankind hath seen, by so general a defection in 'my Army, as well as in the Nation amongst all sorts of 'people.

'I was born free, and desire to continue so; and tho' I have 'ventured my Life very frankly on several occasions, for the 'Good and Honour of my Country, and am as free to do it 'again (*and which I hope I shall yet do, as old as I am, to Redeem it 'from the Slavery it is like to fall under*;) yet I think it not 'convenient to expose my self to be secured, as not to be at 'Liberty to effect it; and for that Reason to withdraw, but 'so as to be within Call whensoever the Nation's Eyes shall 'be opened, so as to see how they have been imposed upon 'by the *Specious Pretences of Religion and Property*. I hope it 'will please GOD to touch their Hearts, out of His In-'finite Mercy, and to make them sensible of the Ill condi-'tion they are in, and bring them to such a *Temper that a 'Legal Parliament may be call'd*; and that amongst other 'things which may be necessary to be done, they will agree 'to *Liberty of Conscience*, for all Protestant Dissenters, and that 'those of my own Perswasion may be so far considered, 'and have such a share of it, as they may live peaceably and 'quietly, as English men and Christians ought to do, and 'not to be obliged to Transplant themselves, which would 'be very grievous, especially to such as love their Coun-'try: And I appeal to all Men, who are considering Men, 'and have had Experience, Whether any thing can make this 'Nation so great and flourishing, as Liberty of Conscience: 'Some of our Neighbours dread it.

'I could add much more to confirm what I have said, but 'now is not the proper time.

*Rochester, December* the 22. 1688.

Having

Having now attained that period of time I designed, what followed being the Methods of Redressing the Disorders we fell into by the Desertion, and the re-settling the Government again, I must desire my Reader to make a Stand with me, and to consider what it was could possibly work upon the Apprehensions of this Prince, to perswade him at first to entertain the Thoughts of leaving his People, and withdrawing into a Foreign Country. *Decemb.*

When the Prince's Expedition was first certainly made known to him, he was resolved to have had a Parliament, upon a Belief that he should have been intirely Master of the Lower House, by reason of the *Regulations*, and other means then lately used; but yet it is probable he would have examined them Man by Man, before they should have met.

But when all this was out of doors, and the Charters restored, he dreaded nothing more than a Parliament, and the rather, because the Prince had in his Declaration insisted, That *all the Violences and Disorders which have overturned the whole constitution of the English Government, may be fully redressed in a* FREE AND LEGAL PARLIAMENT: This contained under it these things, which he would certainly have perished, rather than to have submitted to them, by concurring with a Parliament.

I. The first thing is, The Examination of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, (as he is call'd) the but Questioning of which, was a Stab at the Heart of this Prince, as appears by his last Letter. And the Reflections on the Bishop's Petition mention that as a thing not fit to be referr'd then to a Parliament. I will not blame them for this, considering the proof they were able to make of it.

II. The next thing was, that Justice would certainly have been demanded against all the Instruments of our former Calamities, whom he had pardoned, and was in Honour bound to protect, at least, not to punish those whom he had hired or perswaded, or perhaps forced almost to become Criminals.

III. The third was, the consenting to the intire Ruine of the Means or Hopes of ever setling Popery in *England*, and to the hanging some, and attainting others of the Priests and *Jesuits*, for doing their kind, and what their Rules, Oaths, and Vows oblige them to.

*Decemb.*

IV. He foresaw such a Parliament would not only for ever damn the *Ecclesiastical Court*, and *Dispensing Power*, but would in all probability retrench much of his *Revenue*, and more of his Legal and Ancient *Prerogatives*, especially after the Prince had got all the Forts into his Hands, and reduced the English Army to nothing. And this alone was a thing he would hardly have consented to, though nothing else had been asked.

V. The Prince, he foresaw, would have insisted on the having some Forts in his hands; and the Parliament for their own security, and for the fixing a Faith which had not been over nice, would have joined with him: So, said he, if I stay, I shall be a Nominal, rather than a Real King of *England*, and only serve as an Instrument to ruine my Religion, my Friends, the Monarchy, and the Child, and after all, do and bear what is worse (to me) than a Thousand Deaths.

At first he alledged, That the Disorders the Preparations to repel the Invasion caused, would not suffer a Parliament to meet. Secondly, After the Prince was landed, that all the Countries he had under him would not be free. Thirdly, That all that had joyned with him, ought not to sit: but when he saw the whole Army and Nation (the *Roman Catholicks* excepted) of the same mind, mere force drove him to consent to Call a *Parliament*; and when he had again considered the Consequences of it, he at last resolved to throw up the Crown all at once, rather than to submit to all these Hardships.

He seems to have had at the same time a flattering hope, that (1.) We would never be able long to agree, after he had made it impossible for us to have a Legal Parliament, by burning the Writs. (2.) That the *Church of England* Principles would, when the fear and disorder was over, form for him a potent Army in the Nation. And (3.) That the *French* King would lend him potent Forces, and good store of Money; and if he recovered the Throne by force, he should be freed of all these Miseries, and have what he only wanted before, a Popish Army, to insure the Slavery of *England* for ever.

Now I would desire those *Protestants*, who pretend, now too late, to be so zealous for him, to consider, whether what I have said would not have been expected from him by them, for their Security; and what they would have done, had he called a Parliament, and refused

refused them all these things, and have insisted, That they should have taken his Word as to the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, have suffered him to have been educated in *France*, and have suffered the Army, the Prerogative, the Ministers, and the Revenues to have continued entirely as they were, upon a Promise, He would have used them better for the future? *Decemb.*

If they say No; They would have had the best Security that Law or Reason could have required: Then all the hard things I have mentioned must have been granted them, and I much question, whether he would now return to the Throne on those terms.

If they say, we ought however to have treated with him, and have offered him terms; I say, it would have come to a separate Treaty; and the Church, the Liberties of the Nation, and the Government, would have been ruined that way; and when all had been done, no Bond (that he could have broken) would have held him longer than the Necessity had continued.

The only Advantage we could pretend to have by the coming over of the Prince of *Orange* with an Army, was to force the King to what he would never have yielded without that Force. Now when he had accordingly passed his Word to the Nation, in the Proclamation of the Thirtieth of *November*, That there should be a *Free Parliament*; and to the Prince of *Orange*, in his Message by the three Lords, *That he would consent to every thing that could reasonably be required for the Security of those that come to it*; and yet without any Provocation would burn the Writs, and resolve to withdraw his Person before these Lords could possibly return him any Answer (for he promised the Queen to follow her, who went away the day before him.) I say, this breach of his Word so solemnly made and given both to the Nation and the Prince, shews that he was not Master of himself, but turned about by others whither they pleased.

Now suppose the Prince had suffered him to continue at *Whitehall*, and to call a Third Parliament, what assurance could he have given, that in the end of another forty days we should not have the same trick play'd us, and then in *March* or *April* have been left in the same state of Confusion we were in in *December*, to the certain ruine of these three Kingdoms, and *Holland* into the bargain. And when all had been done, the Scruples would have been the same they are now, the Obligations of the Oath of Allegiance the same, and the sin of Deposing a Lawful Prince, who resolved to do the Nation no Right, would have been much greater and more scanda-

*Decemb.* lous, than barely to take him at his Word; and since he had left the Throne empty, when he needed not, to resolve he should ascend it no more.

Lastly, Suppose the Prince had been Expelled by the King, Would the King have then granted us what he would not grant us now? Would he not have Disbanded his *Protestant* Army, and have kept the *Irish* Forces in Pay, and have every day encreased them? What Respect would he ever after this have shewn to the *English* Laws, Religion or Liberties, when he had had no longer any thing to fear? The memory of what happened after the *Monmouth* defeat, (though effected only by *Church of England* Men) will certainly never be forgotten by others, whatever these Bigots of Loyalty may pretend or say.

That Expression of the Lord *Churchill*'s, in his Letter, [*That he could no longer joyn with Self-interested Men, who had framed Designs against His Majesty's true Interest, and the Protestant Religion, to give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to effect*] ought to be seriously considered by all the Protestants of the Nation: This one Argument prevailed upon him, when he ran the hazard of his Life, Reputation and Fortunes; and now they are all on the other side, I should consider very seriously, if I were one of them, what Answer I could make to this turned into a Question in the Day of Death and Judgment, before ever I should act the direct contrary to what he has done.

For my part I am amazed to see Men scruple the submitting to the present King; for if ever Man had a just cause of War, he had; and that creates a Right to the thing gained by it: the King by withdrawing and disbanding his Army, yielded him the Throne; and if he had, without any more Ceremony, ascended it, he had done no more than all other Princes do on the like occasions; and when the King after this was taken and brought back by force, he was no longer then bound to consider him, as one that *was*, but as one that *had been* King of *England*; and in that capacity he treated him with great Respect and Civility, how much soever the King complained of it, who did not enough consider what he had done to draw upon himself that usage.

But when all is said that can be said, there may possibly be some Men to whom may be applied the Saying of *Joab*, *Thou lovest thine Enemies, and hatest thy Friends; for thou hast declared this Day, that thou regardest neither Princes, nor Servants; for this day I perceive, that*

*that if* Absolom *had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased thee well.* Had the Protestant Religion, the *English* Liberties, the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation, been all made one *Holocaust*, or Burnt-Offering, to their Reputations and Humours, their Scruples and School-niceties, and the Prince of *Orange* perished, or returned Ruin'd or Inglorious into *Holland*; we should then have had the Honour of cutting up our Religion, our Laws, and our Civil Rights, with our own Swords; and we should have been the only Church under Heaven that had refused a Deliverance, and Religiously and Loyally had Destroyed it self. In truth, the Men that would have purchased *Popery* and *Slavery* so dear, ought to have enjoyed both to the End of the World. *Decemb.*

To reinforce these Thoughts the more effectually on the Minds of all English-Men, I will here add the Judgment of the French Court concerning the late King of *England James* II. published in Print to all the World. The Court of *France* never approved (say they) of the false Methods of this Prince, but declared openly, that there was never any thing less Judicious than his Conduct, that he had always followed blind Counsels which were very pernicious to his Repose and Security; That he had undertaken very Imprudently to destroy the Protestant Religion, which was that of the State; That he made use of a Rigour, which was not well understood, both against the Bishops and the Universities; That it was in him a great folly to desire the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, which the English esteemed the Sanctuary of their Nation; That his affection for the Court of *Rome*, and the Monks which he desired to restore, was Ridiculous and Silly; And that his attempting to give Imployments to the Catholicks, which he had Ravished from the Protestants, had given just cause to all the Members of the Estates to complain of his Injustice.

PART

## PART the SECOND.

*A Short Account of the Methods used for the Re-establishment of our Government. With Reflections on a Pamphlet, stiled,* The Diſſertion Diſcuſſed.

*In a Letter to a Country Gentleman.*

*Decemb.* THE Prince of *Orange* being thus received in *London*, the 18*th* of *December*; The Common Council of that City the ſame day aſſembled, and paſſed an Order that all the Aldermen and their ſeveral Deputies, and two Common-Council-Men for each Ward, ſhould wait upon and congratulate his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* upon his Happy Arrival to the City at ſuch time, and place as His Highneſs ſhould appoint, and that the two Sheriffs, and Maſter *Common-Serjeant* ſhould wait upon the *Prince* to know his Pleaſure when they ſhould attend him, which was done the day after his Entry at St. *James*'s, who appointed them the next day.

The Committee of the Common-Council came accordingly the 20*th* of *December*, and Sir *George Treby*, their Recorder, made him this Speech in their Names.

*May it pleaſe Your Highneſs*,

THE Lord Mayor being diſabled by Sickneſs, your Highneſs is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, Deputed to Congratulate Your Highneſs upon this Great and Glorious Occaſion.

In which labouring for Words, we cannot but come ſhort in Expreſſion, Revewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State, overrun by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the point of Deſtruction, by the Conduct of Men (that were our true Invaders) that brake the Sacred Fences of our Laws, and (which was worſt) the very Conſtitution of our *Legiſlature*.

So that there was no Remedy left but the Laſt.

The only Perſon, under Heaven that could apply this Remedy, was Your Highneſs.

You

You are of a Nation whose Alliance, in all times, has been agreeable and prosperous to us. You are of a Family most Illustrious, Benefactors to Mankind; to have the Title of a *Soveraign Prince*, *Stadt-holder*, and to have worn the *Imperial* Crown, are amongst their lesser Dignities. They have long enjoyed a Dignity singular and transcendent, *viz.* To be the Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages to vindicate his Cause against the greatest Oppressions. To this *Divine* Commission, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave *English* Soldiers, rendred themselves and their Arms upon Your Appearing. *Decemb.*

*GREAT SIR,*

WHen we look back to the last Month, and contemplate the *Swiftness* and *Fulness* of Our Present Deliverance, astonished, we think it miraculous; Your Highness led by the Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the *Voice* of the People, has preserved our dearest Interests.

The Protestant Religion, which is Primitive Christianity Restored. Our Laws; which are our Ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Estates; and without which this World were a Wilderness.

But what Retribution can we make to Your Highness? Our Thoughts are full charged with Gratitude. Your Highness has a lasting Monument in the *Hearts*, in the *Prayers*, in the *Praises* of all good Men amongst us. And Late Posterity will Celebrate Your ever-glorious Name, till Time shall be no more.

The first care of his Highness was the *English* Army for which he made this Order,

WHereas, upon the late Irregular Disbanding of the Forces, divers Souldiers carried away the Arms belonging to their respective Regiments, and have since lost or imbezell'd the same; We do hereby direct and require all Persons to whose Hands the said Arms, or any of them are come, or with whom they now remain, forthwith to deliver them to the said Souldiers, or their Officers upon Demand; and in default thereof, forthwith to bring them to the Officers of the Ordnance now attending at *Uxbridge*, *Hounslow*, or the Tower of *London*, in order to the returning the said Arms into the Stores of the Ordnance. Given at St. *James's* the 21 of *December*, 1688.

His

*Decemb.*

His next care was the appointing Quarters for the ſeveral *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh* Regiments, and the ordering them accordingly to repair to the places therein named.

The ſame Day was alſo a great Council of the Nobility, about Sixty of the Peers then Meeting at St. *James*'s, who all (except two) ſubſcribed a Paper in the nature of an Aſſociation: After which His Highneſs thus expreſſed himſelf,

*My Lords,*

I Have deſired you to meet here to adviſe the beſt manner how to purſue the Ends of My *Declaration* in Calling a Free Parliament, for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and ſettling the ſame that they may not be in danger of being again Subverted.

Upon which it was reſolved, That the ſaid Propoſals ſhould be further Debated the next Day in the Houſe of Peers at *Weſtminſter*. And Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Atkinſon*, five Counſellors at Law, were ordered to attend them for their Advice.

The 22. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in the Houſe of Lords, and appointed *Francis Gwin* Eſq; to Sign ſuch Orders as ſhould be from time to time by them made; which was thus ſigned by

*Tho. Ebor. Northfolk. Somerſet. Grafton. Ormond. Beaufort. Northumberland. Halifax. Oxford. Kent. Bedford. Pembrooke. Dorſet. Devonſhire. Bullingbrook. Mancheſter. Rivers. Stamford. Thanet. Scarſdale. Clarendon. Burlington. Suſſex. Maclesfield. Radnor. Berkeley. Nottingham. Rocheſter. Fauconberg. Mordant. Newport. Weymouth. Hatton. W. Aſaph. F. Ely. La Ware. R. Eure. P. Wharton. Paget. North and Grey. Chandos. Montague. Grey. Maynard. T. Jermyn. Vaughan. Carbery. T. Culpeper. Lucas. Delamere. Crew. Lumley. Carteret. Oſulſton.*

These Peers thus Aſſembled the 25*th* day of *December*, Signed and Preſented to His Highneſs this Addreſs.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled in this Conjuncture, do deſire Your Highneſs to take upon You the Adminiſtration

miniſtration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our Religion Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation; And that Your Highneſs will take into Your particular Care the preſent Condition of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual means to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom: All which we make our Requeſts to Your Highneſs to undertake, and exerciſe, till the meeting of the intended Convention the 22*d* Day of *January* next, in which we doubt not ſuch proper Methods will be taken as will conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe things upon ſuch ſure and legal Foundations, that they may not be in Danger of being again ſubverted. *Dated* at the Houſe of Lords *Weſtminſter*, the 25*th* of *December*, 1688. *Decemb.*

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this Extraordinary Conjuncture, do humbly deſire Your Highneſs, to cauſe Letters to be written, ſubſcribed by Your Self, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants, and to the ſeveral Counties, Univerſities, Cities, and Burroughs, Cinque-Ports of *England*, *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; The Letters for the Counties to be directed to the Coroners of the Reſpective Counties, or any one of them; and in default of the Coroners to the Clerk of the Peace of the Reſpective Counties; And the Letters for the Univerſities to be directed to the reſpective Vice-Chancellors; and the Letters to the ſeveral Cities, Burroughs and Cinque-Ports to be directed to the Chief Magiſtrates of each Reſpective City, Burrough, and Cinque-Port, containing Directions for the chooſing in all ſuch Counties, Cities, Burroughs and Cinque-Ports, within ten days after the receipt of the ſaid Reſpective Letters, ſuch a Number of Perſons to repreſent them as are of right to be ſent to Parliament; of which Elections, and the times and places thereof, the Reſpective Officers ſhall give notice within the ſpace of five days at the leaſt.

Notice of the intended Elections for the Counties to be publiſhed in the Churches immediately after the time of Divine Service, and in all Market-Towns within the Reſpective Counties; and Notice of the intended Elections for the Cities, Univerſities, Burroughs, and Cinque-Ports, to be publiſhed within the Reſpective Places. The ſaid Letters and the Execution hereof, to be returned by ſuch Officer or Officers, who ſhall execute the ſame to the Clerk

*Decemb.* of the Crown in the Court of *Chancery*, so as the Persons so to be chosen may meet and sit at *Westminster* on the 22*d* day of *January* next. Dated at the House of Lords, *Westminster*, *December* the 25*th*, 1688.

Both which were Signed by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then assembled, and presented to His Highness the Prince of *Orange* the same day at St. *James's*.

The 28*th* of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* returned this Answer to the Peers then assembled at St. *James's*.

*My Lords*,

I Have considered of your Advice, and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to Secure the Peace of the Nation, until the Meeting of the Convention in *January* next, for the Election whereof, I will forthwith issue out Letters, according to your desire. I will also take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the most proper uses that the present Affairs require; and likewise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a condition, as that the Protestant Religion may be maintained in that Kingdom: And I assure you, that as I came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, so I shall always be ready to expose my self to any Hazard for the Defence of the same.

The 26*th*, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, who had served in any of the Parliaments in the time of His late Majesty *Charles* II. As also the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Fifty of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, being desired by His Highness to attend him; This day one hundred and sixty Members, and the rest came all (but the Mayor who was sick) to St. *James's*, and were by Him acquainted with the State of things, and desired to repair to the Commons House at *Westminster*, where they chose Mr. *Powle* for their Speaker. Then sending to know what the Peers had done, the Addresses, as above recited, were delivered to them, with which they concurred; And the 27*th* they also presented them to the Prince, to whom He gave the same Answer he had given to the Lords the 28*th* in the Afternoon.

The 30*th*, His Highness put out the usual Proclamation for the continuance of the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers

and

and Miniſters (not being Papiſts) to act in their reſpective places till the Meeting of the Convention, or other Order to the contrary, Excepting alſo all ſuch Offices or Places, where ſince His Arrival in this Kingdom he had already, or ſhould hereafter otherwiſe provide. *Decemb.*

The 2*d* of *January* He put out a Declaration for the better Collecting the Publick *Revenue*, which I need not tranſcribe. *January.*

The 5*th* of *January*, His Highneſs put out this following Order.

FOR the better Preventing Diſorders that may happen in any Burrough, Corporation, or other place of Election of Members for the intended *Convention*, by any Souldiers quartered in thoſe places; and that ſuch Elections may be carried on with the greater Freedom, and without any colour of Force or Reſtraint; We do hereby ſtrictly charge and require all Colonels and Officers in chief with any Regiment, Troop or Company, to cauſe ſuch Regiments, Troops, or Companies, to march out of the Quarters where ſuch Election ſhall be made (the ſeveral Garriſons only excepted) the day before the ſame be made, to the next Adjoyning Town or Towns, being not appointed for any Election, and not to return to their firſt Quarters until the ſaid Reſpective Elections be made and fully compleated; wherein they are not to fail as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril.

The *Scotiſh* Nobility and Gentry in or about *London*, were alſo by His Highneſs's Order Summoned to St. *James*'s; where they met the 7*th* of *January*, at Three in the Afternoon; to whom the Prince made this Speech.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THE only reaſon that induced me to undergo ſo go great an Undertaking, was, That I ſaw the Laws and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms overturned, and the Proteſtant Religion in imminent Danger; And ſeeing you are here ſo many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, I have called you together, that I may have your Advice, what is to be done for the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and Reſtoring Your Laws and Liberties according to my Declaration.

Then they withdrew to the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, and choſe the Duke of *Hamilton* their *Preſident*; And after ſome De-

January. bates agreed the Heads of a Paper, which they ordered to be drawn. The 8th they met again, and the Paper was Read and Approved, and ordered to be Ingrossed. The Earl of *Arran* proposed in this second Meeting, That *it was his Advice, that the Prince of* Orange *should be moved to desire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament, for the securing our Religion and Property according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, which* (said he) *in my humble opinion is the best way to heal all our Breaches.* Which was Disgusted by all, and seconded by none of them.

The 9th they met again, and Signed the Paper which was in these Words,

WE the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom of *Scotland* Assembled at Your Highness's desire in this Extraordinary Conjunction, do give Your Highness our humble and hearty Thanks, for Your Pious and Generous *Undertaking*, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and Restoring the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

In Order to the attaining of these Ends, Our humble Advice and Desire is, That Your Highness take upon You the Administration of all Affairs both Civil and Military; The Disposal of the Publick Revenues, and Fortresses of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the doing of every thing that is necessary for the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, until a General Meeting of the States of the Nation, which we humbly desire Your Highness to call, to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 14th day of *March* next, by Your Letter or Proclamation, to be published at the Market-Crosses of *Edinburgh*, and other Head Burroughs of the several Shires and Stewartries, as sufficient Intimation to all concerned, according to the Custom of the Kingdom: And that the Publication of these Your Letters or Proclamation, be by the Sheriffs or Stewart-Clerks, for the Free-Holders, who have the Value of Lands, holden according to Law, for making Elections; and by the Town-Clerks of the several Burroughs, for the Meeting of the whole Burgesses of the Respective Royal Burroughs, to make their Elections, at least Fifteen days before the Meeting of the Estates at *Edinburgh*; and the Respective Clerks to make intimation thereof at the least ten days before the Meeting for Election: And that the whole Electors and Members of the said Meeting at *Edinburgh*, qualified as above expressed, be *Protestants*, without any other Exception,

or

or Limitation whatſoever; To deliberate and reſolve what is to be done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, according to Your Highneſs's Declaration. Dated the 10th day of *January*, 1689. at the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*. *January.*

It was Signed by about *Thirty* Lords, and *Eighty* Gentlemen, and preſented in their preſence at *St. James's* by the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident.

The 14th His Highneſs met the *Scotiſh* Lords and Gentlemen in the ſame place again, and ſpake to them as followeth,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

IN purſuance of Your Advice, I will, until the Meeting of the Eſtates in *March* next, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs of *Scotland*, as are neceſſary for the calling of the ſaid Meeting, for the preſervation of the Peace; the applying of the Publick Revenue to the moſt preſſing uſes, and puting the Fortreſſes in the hands of Perſons in whom the Nation can have a juſt confidence; And I do further aſſure you, that you will always find me ready to concur with you in every thing that may be found neceſſary for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtoring the Laws and Liberties of the Nation.

The Earls of *Crawford* and *Louthian* being preſent in this laſt Meeting, but coming up to *London* after the former, deſired they might Sign the ſaid Addreſs, and they accordingly did ſo.

The 8th day of *January*, His Highneſs put out a Declaration againſt quartering Soldiers on private Houſes. *And that all Houſes ſhould be deemed Private Houſes, except Victualling Houſes, and Houſes of Publick Entertainment, or ſuch as ſell Wine or any other Liquor by Retail. In all which Houſes We do think fit, That all Officers and Souldiers be Lodged by the Direction and Appointment of the Magiſtrates, Juſtices of the Peace, or Conſtables of the place where ſuch Forces ſhall come, and not otherwiſe. And we do hereby ſtrictly forbid all Officers and Souldiers upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up any Quarters for themſelves or others, without ſuch Direction or Appointment, upon pain of being Caſhiered, or ſuffering ſuch other puniſhment as the offence ſhall deſerve.*

The

*January.* The Prince found the Treasury very empty of Money, the Cash in it being said to be but 40000 *l.* Whereupon he desired the City of *London* to advance a Sum for his present Occasions, and the 10*th* of *January* they agreed to lend 100000 *l.* but it being raised by Subscriptions it amounted to above 150000 *l.*

The 16*th* of *January*, the Prince put out a Declaration to assure the Mariners and Seamen of their *Pay*, and suppress the false Reports had been spread to the contrary by the Discontented Party.

The Elections of the Members for the *Convention* in the mean time went on with the greatest Liberty that could possibly be conceived; every Man giving his Vote for whom he pleased, without the least Solicitation from the Prince or any of his. There had been Writs before this twice for a Parliament in a few Months, and almost every place had before this fixed their Members, so that the difference was not great between the Men that were, and those that would have been chosen, if the King had suffered the first or second Parliament he called, to have met, and this gives the truest Idea that can be desired of the Temper of the Nation, and what would have been the Event if either of those Parliaments had sate.

The two Houses met the 22*d* of *January*, and the upper House (there being no Lord *Chancellor*) chose the Marquess of *Hallifax* for their Speaker, and the Commons chose *Henry Powle* Esq; after which a Letter was read in both Houses from His Highness the Prince of *Orange* on the Occasion of their Meeting, which was as followeth,

*My Lords*,

I Have endeavoured to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me in order to the publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the Administration of Affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties.

I do not doubt, but that by such a full and free Representative of the Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my *Declaration* will be attained: And since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good Intentions with so great success, I trust in him, that he will compleat his own Work, by sending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence

fluence your Counſels, that no interruption may be given to an happy and laſting Settlement. *January.*

The dangerous condition of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, requiring a large and ſpeedy Succour, and the preſent ſtate of things abroad oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of *Unſeaſonable Diviſions* amongſt our ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great delay in your Conſultations: The *States*, by whom I have been enabled to reſcue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the ſervice of their Troops which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath declared a War againſt them. And as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident that their chearful concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom with ſo much hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their condition ſhall require it.

Given at St. *James*'s the 22*d* day of *January*, 1688.

*To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at* Weſtminſter.

Will. H. P. d' *Orange.*

The firſt thing the Houſes took care of was by mutual conſent to draw up and preſent the following Addreſs.

The Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this preſent Convention to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*.

*Die Martis* 22° *Januarii*, 1688.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being highly ſenſible of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is (next under God) owing to your Highneſs, do return our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to your Highneſs, as the Glorious Inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing.

We do further acknowledg the great Care your Highneſs has been pleaſed to take in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom to this time; and we do moſt humbly deſire your Highneſs,

*January.* neſs, that you will take upon you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation: And that your Highneſs will take into your particular care the preſent ſtate of *Ireland*, and endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual means to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which we make our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and exerciſe, till further Application ſhall be made by us, which ſhall be expedited with all convenient ſpeed; and we ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt endeavours to give diſpatch to the matters recommended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.

To this Addreſs thus preſented by both Houſes at St. *James's* the Prince of *Orange* made this Reply the ſame day;

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I *Am glad that what I have done hath pleaſed you: And ſince you deſire me to continue the Adminiſtration of Affairs, I am willing to accept it. I muſt recommend to you the conſideration of Affairs abroad, which maketh it fit for you to expedite your buſineſs; not only for making a Settlement at home upon a good foundation, but for the ſafety of all* Europe.

The Houſes alſo ordered that Thurſday the 13*th* of *January* inſtant, be appointed for a Day of Publick Thankſgiving to Almighty God in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten miles diſtance, for having made his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* the Glorious Inſtrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that Thurſday the 14*th* of *February* next be appointed for a Publick Thankſgiving throughout the whole Kingdom for the ſame.

The 23*d* of *January* the Lords paſſed this Order,

Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That no Papiſt, or Reputed Papiſt, do preſume to come into the Lobby, Painted Chamber, Court of Requeſts, or *Weſtminſter*-Hall, during the ſitting of this Convention. And it is further Ordered, That this Order be Printed and Publiſhed, and ſet upon the Doors of the ſaid Rooms.

The

The 28th of *January* the Commons paſſed this Vote: *January.*

Reſolved, *That King* James *the* II. *having endeavoured to ſubvert the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated the* Fundamental Laws, *and having withdrawn himſelf out of this Kingdom, have* abdicated *the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.*

Reſolved, That this Vote be ſent up to the Lords-Houſe to morrow morning for their Concurrence.

This Vote occaſioned the Letter I am to Examine.

Hereupon followed ſeveral Conferences between the Lords and the Commons, none of which being Printed, and the Written Copies diſperſed about the Town being of no good Authority, I muſt leave them unrelated.

I have taken the utmoſt care to procure a Copy of theſe Conferences, but I cannot get one which I can rely upon as certain. And I durſt not publiſh one that had no Authority.

The ſixth of *February* the Lords at laſt aſſented to the Vote a- *February.*
bove.

The 29th of *January* this Queſtion was propoſed in the Lords-Houſe, "Whether a Regency with the Adminiſtration of Regal "power under the Name and Stile of King *James* the Second, du- "ring the Life of the ſaid King *James*, be the beſt and ſafeſt way to "preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom?

Upon which the Houſe divided { Contents 48. / Non-contents 51.

This very much facilitated the Concurrence of the two Houſes in the other Vote.

The Throne being thus declared vacant, ſome were for the Prince of *Orange* to be Elected King alone, others for the Princeſs to be forthwith proclaimed and acknowledged as next Immediate Heir of the Crown of *England*, and others were for a *Commonwealth*. But the two ſtrongeſt Parties were thoſe who were for the Prince, and thoſe that were for the Princeſs, ſo that at laſt there was a way found to twiſt theſe two into one by giving the Title indifferently to both, and the Adminiſtration ſolely to the Prince, to avoid the inconvenience of two co-ordinate Soveraigns.

*February.* Whilest these things were warmly debated in the Convention and the Town, and all Men were yet in suspence which way they would be determin'd, some that were over-zealous set a-foot the following Petition the first of *February*, and endeavoured to have it subscribed by the Multitude indifferently, going up and down to publick places to solicite Subscriptions.

*To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled in the Grand Convention, the Humble Petition of Great Numbers of Citizens, and other Inhabitants of the Cities of* London *and* Westminster.

WHereas we are in a deep sense of the danger of *Delays*, and perplext Debates about settling the Government, at this time *Vacant*, by reason whereof the necessary ends of Government cannot be duly administred.

We humbly desire that his most Illustrious Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and his Royal Consort the *Princess*, may be speedily setled in the *Throne*, by whose Courage, Conduct and Reputation, this Nation and the Protestant Religion may be defended from our Enemies at home and abroad; And that *Ireland* now in a bleeding and deplorable condition, may be rescued from its Miseries, and these Kingdoms settled on a lasting foundation in Peace and Liberty.

Whereupon his Highness being informed of the ill consequences and scandal of this way of proceeding, caused this Order to be made and published to suppress it.

*By the Mayor.*

WHereas his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, hath been pleased to signifie to me this day, That divers persons (pretending themselves to be Citizens of *London*) in a tumultuous and a disorderly manner have lately disturbed the present *Convention* of the *Lords* and *Commons* at *Westminster*, upon pretence of Petitioning. It being regular and usual for the Citizens of this City that are under the apprehension of any Grievance, to make their application to my Self and the Court of Aldermen: Therefore with the Advice of my Brethren, the Aldermen of this City, these are to require you, That you command within your Ward, that they forbear any such tumultuous Disturbance, or Assembly; as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. Dated the third day of *February* 1688.

The

The twelfth of *February* the two Houſes at laſt fully agreed all things in diſpute between them in this manner. *February.*

*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Aſſembled at* Weſtminſter.

WHereas the late King *James* the Second by the Aſſiſtance of divers evil Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour to ſubject and extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

By aſſuming and exerciſing a power of Diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without conſent of Parliament.

By committing and proſecuting divers worthy Prelats, for humbly Petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid Aſſumed Power.

By iſſuing and cauſing to be executed a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court, call'd *The Court of Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

By Levying Money for and to the uſe of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time and in other manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament.

By raiſing and keeping a ſtanding Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, without conſent of Parliament; and Quartering Souldiers contrary to Law.

By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects being Proteſtants, to be diſarmed, at the ſame time when Papiſts were both Armed and imployed contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament.

By Proſecutions in the Court of *Kings-Bench*, for matters and cauſes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal courſes.

And whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Perſons have been returned and ſerved on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High Treaſon, which were not Freeholders.

And Exceſſive Bail hath been required of Perſons committed in Criminal caſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And Exceſſive Fines have been impoſed.

*February.* And Illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted.

And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late King *James* the Second, having *abdicated* the Government, and the Throne being thereby *vacant*.

His Higness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Burroughs and Cinque-Ports for the chusing of such Persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the 22*d* day of *January* 1688, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which Letters Elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their Respective Letters and Elections, being now Assembled in a full and Free *Representative* of this Nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their Ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

That the pretended Power of suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the pretended Power of Dispensing with Laws, or the execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

That the Commission for erecting the late *Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

That Levying of Money to or for the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be Granted, is illegal.

That

That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Petitioning are illegal. *February.*

That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unleſs it be by conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.

That the Subjects being Proteſtants may have Arms for their Defence ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by Law.

That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be Free.

That the freedom of Speech, and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

That Exceſſive Bail ought not to be required, nor Exceſſive Fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly Impannel'd and returned, and Jurors which paſs upon Men in Trials for High-Treaſon ought to be Freeholders.

That all Grants and Promiſes of Fines and Forfeitures of particular perſons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

And that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthning, and preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments, ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Premiſes, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the ſaid Premiſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example.

To which demand of their Rights they are particularly encouraged by the Declaration of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.

Having therefore an intire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the violation of their Rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties;

The ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* do reſolve,

That *WILLIAM* and *MARY Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the

*February*, the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess during their joynt Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons do pray the said Prince and Princess of *Orange* to accept the same accordingly.

And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned, be taken by all Persons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, instead of them; and that the said Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be abrogated.

I A. B. *Do sincerely Promise and Swear, That I will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

So help me God.

I A. B. *Do Swear, That I do from my Heart Abhor, Detest, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Position*, That Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be deposed or murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. *And I do declare, that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm.*

So help me God.

Jo. Brown, *Clericus Parliamentorum.*

The same day this Declararion bears Date, Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange* arrived in the River of *Thames* in the Afternoon, and was received with all the Hearty Demonstrations and Expressions of Joy by the City, that are usual on such occasions.

The

*February*

The 13*th* of *February*, The Lords and Commons ordered the following Proclamation to be publiſhed and made.

WHereas, It hath pleaſed Almighty God in his Great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchſafe us a miraculous Deliverance from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and that our Preſervation is due, next under GOD, to the Reſolution and Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of *ORANGE*, whom GOD hath choſen to be the glorious Inſtrument of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs to us and our Poſterity: And being highly ſenſible, and fully perſwaded of the great and eminent Vertues of Her Highneſs the Princeſs of *ORANGE*, whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, will, no douht bring a Bleſſing alopg with Her upon this Nation. And Whereas, the Lords and Commons now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, have made a Declaration, and preſented the ſame to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *ORANGE*, and therein deſired Them to accept the Crown; who have accepted the ſame accordingly. We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, and others of the Commons of this Realm, do with full conſent publiſh and proclaim according to the ſaid Declaration, *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, Prince and Princeſs of *ORANGE*, to be *KING* and *QUEEN* of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: Who are accordingly ſo to be owned, deemed, and taken, by all the People of the aforeſaid Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforward bound to acknowledg, and pay unto them, all Faith and true Allegiance; Beſeeching GOD, by whom Kings reign, to Bleſs King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, with long and happy Years to reign over us.

GOD Save King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

*John Brown* Clericus Parliamentorum.

The 15*th* of *February* the Lords and Commons ordered, That His Majeſties moſt gracious Anſwer this day be added to the engroſſed Declaration in Parchment, to be enroll'd in Parliament and Chancery; which is as followeth.

*My*

February.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THis is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in Us that can be given, which is the thing that maketh Us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other intention in my coming hither, than to preſerve Your Religion, Laws and Liberties: So you may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them and ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

*The Concluſion.* Thus ended that ſtupendious Revolution in *England*, which we have ſo lately ſeen; to the great Joy of the Generality of the Proteſtants of *Europe*, and of many of the Catholick Princes and States, who were at laſt convinced, that the attempting to force *England* to return under the Obedience of the See of *Rome* in the preſent conjuncture of Affairs, would certainly end in the Ruine of this potent Kingdom; and whileſt it was doing, the preſent *French* King would poſſeſs himſelf of the Remainder of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the *Palatinate*, and perhaps of the Electorates of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, a great part of which he hath actually ſeized whileſt the Prince of *Orange* was thus gloriouſly aſſerting the Engliſh Liberty.

The true reaſons of the Swiftneſs of this Change may eaſily be aſſigned by ſhewing the temper and deſigns of *James* the II. The Temper of *William* the III. our preſent Soveraign, and the Nature of the Engliſh Nation, and of the times all concurring with wonderful Harmony to produce this wonderful effect. For had *James* the II. undertook any thing but the ſubjecting *England* to Popery, and the Exerciſe of an Arbitrary Power to that end; his vaſt Revenue, and perſonal Valour, and the Reputation he had gained at home and abroad by the defeat of the *Monmouth* Invaſion, would have gone near to have effected it: and after all this if he had in the beginning of *October* frankly granted all the ten Propoſals made by the Biſhops, and ſuffered a Parliament to have met, and given up a conſiderable number of his Miniſters to Juſtice, and ſuffered the pretended Prince of *Wales* his Birth to be freely debated and determin'd in Parliament. It would in all probability have prevented or defeated the then intended Invaſion. But whileſt he thought to ſave the pretended Succeſſion, the diſpenſing and ſuſ-

pending

pending Power, and the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to carry on his former deſign with, when he had baffl'd the Prince of *Orange*; the Nation ſaw through the Project, and he loſt all. February.

Had a Prince of leſs Secrecy, Prudence, Courage and Intereſt than the Prince of *Orange*, undertaken this Buſineſs, it might probably have miſcarried; but as his Cauſe was better, ſo his Reputation, Conduct, and Patience infinitely exceeded theirs; he would not ſtir till he ſaw the *French* Forces ſet down before *Philipsbourg*, and then he was ſure *France* and *Germany* were irrevocably ingaged in a War, and conſequently he ſhould have no other oppoſition than what the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks could make againſt him. For no *Engliſh* Proteſtant would fight his Country into Vaſſalage and Slavery to Popiſh Prieſts, and *Italian* Women, when a Parliament ſooner or later muſt at laſt have determin'd all the things in Controverſie, except we reſolved once for all to give up our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Eſtates to the Will of our King, and ſubmit for ever to a *French* Government.

A Nation of leſs ſenſe than the *Engliſh* might have been impoſed upon, of leſs Bravery and Valour might have been frighted, of a more ſervile temper might have neglected its Liberties, till it had been too late to have ever recovered them again: But nope but a parcel of *Jeſuits* bred in a Cloiſter, and unacquainted with our Temper as well as Conſtitution, would ever have hoped to have carried two ſuch things as Popery and Arbitrary Power, both at once, upon ſo jealous a Nation as the *Engliſh* is, which hates them above any other People in the World.

The cruel Slaughter they had made of the poor wretches they took after the Defeat at *Bridgwater*, ought to have made them for ever deſpair of gaining any credit with the *Diſſenters*, who rarely forgive, but never forget any ill Treatment. Yet theſe little *Politico's* had ſo little ſenſe as to build all their Hopes on the Gratitude and Inſenſibility of theſe Men, as if they ſhould for *Liberty of Conſcience*, arbitrarily and illegally granted, and conſequently revocable at the Will of the Granter, have ſold themſelves to everlaſting Slavery.

They were equally miſtaken in their carriage towards the Church of *England party*, for when ſome of them had purſued both Clergy and Laity with the utmoſt Obloquy, Hatred, Oppreſſion and Contempt, to the very Moment they found the *Dutch* Storm would fall upon them. Then all at once they paſſed to the other extream, th-

February. Bishops are presently sent for, the Government intirely to be put into their Hands, and all Places, Presses and Papers filled with the *Encomiums* of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty and Fidelity, who but three days before were Male-contents, if not Rebels and Traytors, for opposing the King's Dispensing Power, and the Ecclesiastical Commission. And which was the height of Folly, the same Pen which had been hired to defame and blacken the Church of *England* (the Author of the *Publick Occurrences truly stated*) was ordered to magnify its Loyalty. By which they gained nothing but the intire and absolute disobliging the whole Protestant Party in the Nation, so that for the future no body would serve or trust them.

To compleat their Folly and Madness, they perswaded the King to throw up the Government, and retire into *France*, pretending we would never be able to agree amongst our selves, but would in a short time be forced to recal him, and yield to all those things we had so violently opposed; or if not, he might yet at least force us to submit by the Succours he might gain in *France*: without ever considering how possible it was we might agree, and how difficult it would be to force us by a *French* Army, which was equally contrary to the Interest of *England* and all *Europe* besides, and to all Intents and Purposes destructive of the Interest of that Prince they pretended thus to exalt and re-establish.

Had *France* been now in Peace, there might yet have been some colour for this; but when all *Europe* was under a necessity to unite against him for its own Preservation, then to perswade the King of *Great Britain* to desert his Throne, and fly thither for Succour, upon Hopes of recovering his Kingdoms again by the Assistance of the *French* (the mortal and hereditary Enemies of the *English*) this was so silly a Project, that there seems to have been something of a Divine Infatuation in it.

However, certainly no rational Man will think that all the Princes of *Europe* would sit still and suffer the *French* King to conquer *Britain* under pretence of restoring *James* the Second to that Throne which he had abandon'd, because he could not bring the Prince of *Orange* (their Allie) and all his Protestant Subjects to his own Terms.

And yet if none of them should enterpose but the *Hollanders* alone, the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets being united would render the landing a *French* Army so difficult and uncertain, that it would be next door to madness to trust one to their Navy, which is so much inferior to either of the others singly taken.

So

So that all things conſidered, either *James* the Second ought to have ſtayed at home and have made as good terms as he could with the Prince of *Orange*, and his own Subjects: or if he would have abandon'd his Kingdoms, he ought to have deſpaired of any Reſtitution, and have betaken himſelf to a private life as *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* did.

Since I finiſhed that which goes before, we have now certain Intelligence that *James* the Second Landed the 12th of *March* at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, ſo that now it cannot be doubted but that he hopes to recover *England* and *Scotland* by the help of the *Iriſh*; which is all one as if he had done it by the *French*. His ſucceeding in this deſign laying us at the mercy of an *Iriſh Roman* Catholick Army; whoſe Civility and Kindneſs to our Nation we may learn from our Country-men, who after having loſt all but their lives, have been forced to flee over to us for ſhelter and protection. I ſhall not add any other conſideration to perſwade my Country-men to defend their King, Queen, and the whole Proteſtant Succeſſion, their Lives, Liberties, Priviledges and Religion, becauſe this alone is ſufficient.

## *To the Reader.*

THe Author of the following Diſcourſe has been pleaſed to obſerve ſome litteral Miſtakes in the former Impreſſion, and one which he calls *a wilful and very unfair Miſtake, pag.* 145. *line the* 27. *The Word* [*Popiſh*] *being inſerted which was none of his.* The Author of the Hiſtory of the Diſertion had made in the Margine of his Book ſeveral Remarks, and drawn Lines under the Places he intended to take notice of; And the Compositors took in thoſe Remarks into the Text, and changed the letter into *Italick* in thoſe other places. The Author thereupon ſtrook out all the other Additions, but did not then think it worth the while to return the *Italick* into *Roman* Letters: And the Word *Popiſh* was ordered to be included in a Parentheſis and in a different Character, but the Compoſitor failed to put in the Note of a Parentheſis, and the Author ſeeing it no more, it was ſo printed off. But to make the Author of that Paper the beſt amends he now can, he acknowledgeth the Word *Popiſh* is none of his, and deſireth it may be ſtruck out. The

*February.* other literal Miſtakes in the firſt Impreſſion (many of which were in the Original Paper) are thus to be Corrected.

*Pag.* 137. *l.* 10. for *Revolution*, *r.* Reſolution. Ibb. *l.* 19. del. *be*. *Pag.* 140. *l.* 19. for *Father*, *r.* Author. *P.* 141. *l.* 28. for *viſit*, *r. invite*. *P.* 142. *l.* 8. for *Admit*, *r.* omit. *Pag.* 144. *l.* 35. for Act 9. *read* Act. 1. *Pag.* 148. *l.* 6 for Reſiſting, *r.* Reſetling. *P.* 150. before *Wrang*, *r. the*.

Theſe were all the Errata's obſerved by that Author, to have been made in that impreſſion, and are remarked here to do him Right, and to procure the Correction of the Copies of the firſt Impreſſion. And I aſſure the World once more I was no way willingly injurious to that Author, nor ever will be.

# The DESERTION Diſcuſs'd.

## In a Letter to a Country Gentleman.

SIR,

§. 1. I *Don't wonder to find a Perſon of your Senſe and Integrity ſo much ſurprized at the Report of the Throne's being declared Vacant, by the Lower Houſe of the Convention*: For how (*ſay you*) can the Seat of the Government be Empty, while the King, who all grant had an unqueſtionable Title, is ſtill Living, *and his Abſence forced and involuntary?* I thought our Laws, as well as our Religion, had been againſt the Depoſing Doctrine; therefore I deſire you would Expound this State Riddle to me, and give me the Ground of this late extraordinary Reſolution. *In anſwer to your Queſtion, you may pleaſe to take notice, That thoſe Gentlemen of the Convention, and the reſt of their Sentiments, who declare a Vacancy in the Government, lay the main ſtreſs of their Opinion upon his Majeſties withdrawing himſelf: For now, eſpecially ſince the* Story of the *French Leagne*, *and the Buſineſs of the Prince of Wales, are paſſed over in Silence, muſt Men believe that the pretended Branch of that which they call*, The Original Contract, *was deſigned for no more than a popular Flouriſh.*

§. 2. *And*

§ 2. *And that you may not be shocked by seeing the Votes of so considerable and publick a Meeting debated by a private Hand, give me leave to remind you, That a Parliament, and a Convention, are two very different things: The latter, for want of the King's Writs and Concurrence, having no share in the Legislative Power. If it's urged, that the present Posture and Exigence of Affairs is a sufficient Dispensation with the usual Preliminaries and Forms of Parliament. To this I am obliged to answer, that this pretended Necessity is either of their own Making, or of their own Submitting to, which is the same thing; and therefore ought not to be pleaded in Justification of their Proceedings. For if his Majesty had either not been driven out of his Dominions, or invited back upon honourable Terms, they needed not to have had recourse to these singular Methods. And since they had neither the Authority of Law, or Necessity to support their Determinations, I hope they will not think themselves disobliged, if they are inquired into; and some part of that Liberty which they have taken with his Majesty be returned upon themselves. For all private and unauthorized Opinions are to be regarded no farther than they prove their point. Like Plate, without the Royal Impression, they ought not to be obtruded for current Coin; nor rated any higher than the Intrinsick Value of the Mettal. Let us examine therefore, if his Majesty has done any thing which imports, either in it self, or by necessary Consequence, That he has voluntarily resigned his Crown, and discharged his Subjects of their Allegiance. Now the Author of* the Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, &c. *for whose Judgment the Commons seem to have a very great Regard, as appears from their Concurrence with him: For their most considerable Votes are, in a manner transcribed from his* 11th *Paragraph. This Author tells us, pag.* 5. That when a King withdraws himself, and his Seals, without naming any Persons to represent him, the Government is certainly laid down and forsaken by him. *Though afterwards he is so good natured as to add,* That if any imminent present Danger, or just Fear, (though indeed a King can never be decently suspected of that; *I suppose his Reason is, because Kings are invulnerable*) had driven his Majesty away, it might seem a little too hard to urge this too much.

§ 3. *In order to the confuting this Notion, I shall prove in the First place, That his Majesty, before his withdrawing, had sufficient Grounds to make him apprehensive of Danger; and therefore it cannot be called an* Abdication.

*Secondly,*

*Secondly, That the leaving any Repreſentatives behind him was impracticable at this Juncture.*

*Thirdly, That we have no Grounds, either from the Laws of the Realm, or thoſe of Nature, to pronounce the Throne void, upon ſuch a Retreat of a King.*

§ 4. *But before I do this, it's not improper to obſerve, that this pretence of a Demiſe, if it ſignified any thing, cannot affect* Scotland *or* Ireland: *Not the firſt, for there his Majeſty's Commiſſioners acted in the uſual manner, till they were diſturbed: Nor the ſecond, for that Kingdom continues ſtill under the Regular Adminiſtration of the Lord Lieutenant. Neither is it ſufficient to ſay,* That *Ireland* is an Appendage to the Crown of *England*, and therefore it muſt follow its Revolution. *For allowing a Demiſe was really conſequent upon a Failure of Seals and Repreſentatives; yet there would be no colour to apply it to a Caſe where there was no ſuch Omiſſion. For no Forfeiture ought to be ſtretched beyond the Reaſon upon which it is grounded. But this only by the way. I ſhall proceed to prove the firſt thing propounded,* viz. *That his Majeſty, before his withdrawing, had ſufficient Grounds to make him apprehenſive of imminent Danger.*

§ 5. *We are now fallen upon Times in which the moſt extravagant and almoſt impoſſible things are ſwallowed without chewing, and the plaineſt Truths outfaced and denied*; as if Evidence was an Argument againſt Proof, *and Abſurdities the only Motives of Credibility: So that now, if ever, we ſeem fit for* Tranſubſtantiation. *Had not ſome Men believed this true, in a great Meaſure, they would never have diſputed againſt matter of Fact, which was done almoſt in the Face of the whole Kingdom. To ſpeak to the preſent Caſe; Had not his Majeſty great Reaſon to retire, to ſecure his Perſon and his Honour, at his firſt withdrawing from* Whitehall *? which is the time from which our Author dates his pretended Deſertion (for he will not allow him to be King at his return) I ſay, had not his Majeſty great Reaſon to retire when he had met with ſo many unfortunate Diſappointments, with ſo many ſurprizing and unparallel'd Accidents? When part of the Army was revolted, and the Remainder too apparently unſerviceable? When the People had ſuch fatal and unremovable Prejudices againſt his Majeſty's Service? When there were ſuch terrible Diſorders in the Kingdom, and all places were either Flaming, or ready to take Fire? What ſhould a Prince do, when he had ſcarce any thing left him to loſe but himſelf, but conſult his Safety, and give*

*way to the irreſiſtible Evil? But our Author pretends the King's Affairs had a much better Aſpect; Let us obſerve how he proves it. Why he tells us,* That when the Prince of *Orange*'s Propoſals came to his Majeſty, the Army and the Fleet were left in his Hands. *They were ſo, that he might pay them for the Prince's Service; for they owned his Majeſty's Authority ſcarce any other way than by receiving his Money, and eating up his Meat.* (It's to be hoped they have ſince repented of their Actions.) *But the Enquirer goes on with his Inventory of* Forts and Revenues, *which the King was to have ſtill. He may know, if he pleaſes, that we have but four conſiderable Forts in the Kingdom. Now* Hull *and* Plimouth *had already diſpoſed of themſelves, and the Tower of* London *was demanded for the City; ſo that there was none but* Portſmouth *remaining. And as for the Revenues, it's to be feared, the Northern Collections would have been almoſt as ſlender as thoſe in the Weſt. And now one would think our Author began to relent: For he owns,* That ſome things which the Prince of *Orange* propoſed, may be called hard; viz. *his demanding* that the Laws againſt Papiſts which were in Imployment might be executed. *But the Enquirer is much miſtaken, if he thinks the Prince of* Orange *inſiſted upon no more than the bare Execution of the Law in this point.* For *the diſbanding of all Papiſts (which was part of his Propoſals) is much more than what the Law requires; by which the Papiſts are only excluded from Offices of Command, and Truſt. But neither the Teſt-Acts, nor any others bar the King from liſting them as common-Souldiers. And laſtly, to deliver up his beſt Magazine, and the Strength of his Capital City: To be obliged to pay a foreign Army, which came over to enable his Subjects to drive him out of his Dominions, were very extraordinary Demands, and looked as if there was a Deſign to reduce him as low in his Honour, as in his Fortune. To forgive a Man who endeavoured to ruine me, is great Chriſtian Charity; but to article away my Eſtate to him, becauſe he has injured me, is ſuch a Mortification as no Religion obliges us to. This is in effect to betray our Innocence, and ſign away the Juſtice of our Cauſe; and own that we have deſerved all that hard Uſage which has been put upon us; ſo that it's eaſy to imagine what an unconquerable Averſion the Spirit of Princes muſt needs have to ſuch an unnatural Penance. In ſhort, when the Forts and Revenue were thus diſpoſed of; when the Papiſts were to be disbanded; and the Proteſtants could*

not

not be truſted; *when the Nation was under ſuch general and violent Diſſatisfactions; when the King, in caſe of a Rupture (which was not unlikely) had nothing upon the matter but his ſingle Perſon to oppoſe againſt the Prince's Arms, and thoſe of his own Subjects; when his Mortal Enemies, and thoſe were under the higheſt Forfeitures to his Majeſty, were to ſit Judges of his Crown and Dignity, if no further; when Affairs were in this tempeſtuous Condition, to ſay that a free and indifferent Parliament might be choſen, with relation to the King's Right, as well as the Peoples; and that his Majeſty had no juſt viſible Cauſe to apprehend himſelf in Danger, is to outface the Sun, and to trample upon the Underſtandings, and almoſt upon the Senſes of the whole Nation.*

§ 6. 2. *It's not improper to examine what doubty Reaſons the Enquirer advances to prove,* the King's coming from *Feverſham* to *Whitehal*, to be no return to his People. *The reaſon of his affirming this is apparent; he is ſenſible what ſingular uſage his Majeſty met with, and therefore he would fain unking him, that it might the better ſuit with his Character. But pray what had the King done to incur a Forfeiture by his firſt Retirement? Had he quitted the Realm? If that was matterial, it cannot be alledged, for his Majeſty was no farther off than the Coaſt of* Kent. *Did he refuſe to take care of his People any longer, when the Lords went down to invite him to* Whitehall? *No, If he had, he would not have come back when he was at his Liberty. His return, after ſome Aſſurances of fair Treatment, is a plain diſcovery of the Motives of his withdrawing; and that he came up with an intention to govern. For, I believe, few People imagine that his Majeſty would take ſuch a Journey, only to have Dutch Guards clap'd upon him; to be hurried out of his Palace, and carried Priſoner down the Thames at Noon-day. But* the Seals never appeared. *What time was there for them in 24 Hours? Beſides there was an Order of Council with his Majeſty at the Head of it, for ſuppreſſing the Mobile, Dated* Decemb. 18. *which was the next Day after his Majeſty's Return. And when he was ſent back to* Rocheſter, *he might plainly perceive his Government was at an end for the preſent. For the Tower was garriſon'd by foreign Forces: The Lords publiſhed an Order by their own Authority, to oblige the Papiſts to depart the Town: The City made an Addreſs to the Prince of* Orange, *which was a virtual Acknowledgment of his Power; and Aſſociations came up*

*to that purpoſe out of the Countrey*; (Cambridgeſhire *Addreſs*) *not to omit that His Majeſty was denied a ſmall Sum of his own Gold to Heal with, as if they had rather poor People ſhould periſh with Boils and Ulcers, than ſhew common Juſtice and Humanity to their King. From all theſe remarkable Circumſtances, His Majeſty might eaſily gueſs how they intended to diſpoſe of him: For no Man in his ſenſes, who has treated a Prince ſo contemptuouſly in his own Kingdom, will ever permit him either Power or Liberty, for fear he ſhould remember his former Uſage. From what has been ſaid, it's moſt evident, that His Majeſty had all imaginable reaſon to provide for his own Security in ſome other Countrey.*

§. 7. *And ſince His Majeſty had ſufficient Reaſons to withdraw, theſe can be no pretence for an Abdication: For we are to obſerve, That to Abdicate an Office, always ſuppoſes the Conſent of him who quits it. That this is the ſignification of the word* Abdico, *appears from* Tully, Saluſt, *and* Livie; *to which I ſhall only add the Learned* Grotius, De Jure Belli, &c. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Sect. 9. *where he makes Abdicating the Government, and plainly Giving it up, to be* Terms *of the ſame importance.*

§. 8. *And to prevent unreaſonable Cavils, he adds; That a Neglect, or Omiſſion in the Adminiſtration of Government, is by no means to be interpreted a Renunciation of it. We have but two Inſtances with us, which looks like an Abdication ſince the Conqueſt; which are in the Reign of* Edward *II. and* Richard *II. both which were unjuſtly Depoſed by their Subjects. However they did not renounce their Allegiance, and declare the Throne Void, till they had a formal Reſignation under the Hands of both thoſe unfortunate Princes. And hence it appears how unlucky our Enquirer is at citing the Laws. For,* pag. 12. *he tells us,* That ſince theſe two Princes have been judged in Parliament for their Male-Adminiſtration, and ſince theſe Judgments have never been vacated by any ſubſequent Parliaments; theſe Proceedings are part of our Law. *From hence I obſerve,*

§. 9. 1. *That our Author contradicts himſelf. For here he owns, That Male-Adminiſtration is ſufficient to warrant Depoſition and Reſiſtance. But in his Enquiry into the Meaſures of Submiſſion,* &c. (*for both theſe Papers are generally ſuppoſed to come from the ſame Hand*) pag. 5. par. 14. *he is much kinder to the Crown; for there he aſſerts,* That it is not Lawful to Reſiſt the King, upon any pretence of Ill Adminiſtration; and that nothing leſs than ſubverting the Fundamentals of Government will juſtifie an Oppoſition. *Now I am much miſtaken, if Depoſing of Kings is not Reſiſting them with a Witneſs. But beſides his ſelf-contradiction, the Caſe is not to his purpoſe: For,*

§. 10. 1. *Theſe Parliaments were called in tumultuous times, when the Subjects were ſo hardy as to put their Kings under Confinement. Now, if it is againſt the Conſtitution of Parliaments to menace the Two Houſes out of their Liberty of Voting freely, then certainly Kings ought not to be overawed by Armies and Priſons. Theſe Parliaments therefore are very improper to make Precedents of.*

§. 11. 2. *Theſe Princes were wrought upon ſo far, as to reſign their Crowns, which each of them did, tho unwillingly: Let this Enquirer produce ſuch a Reſignation from His Majeſty, and he ſays ſomething.*

§. 12. 3. *He is much miſtaken, in ſaying,* theſe Judgments, *as he calls them,* have not been vacated by ſubſequent Parliaments. *For all thoſe ſubſequent Parliaments which declare it Unlawful to take up Arms againſt the King, do by neceſſary implication condemn theſe Depoſing Precedents; for it's impoſſible for Subjects to Depoſe their Princes without Reſiſting them.*

§. 13. 2. *By Act of Parliament the firſt of* Edward *IV. yet remaining at large upon the Parliament-Rolls, and for the greater part recited* verbatim *in the Pleadings in* Bagget's *Caſe, in the Year-Books* (Trin. Term. 9 Edw. 4.) *the Title of* Edw. 4. *by Deſcent and Inheritance, and is ſet forth very particularly; And that upon the Deceaſe of* Rich. 2. *the Crown by Law, Cuſtom, and Conſcience, deſcended and belonged to* Edmund *Earl of* March, *under whom King* Edw. 4. *Claimed.*

§. 14. *It is likewiſe further declared,* That *Hen.* 4. againſt Law, Conſcience, and Cuſtom of the Realm of *England*, Uſurped upon the Crown and Lordſhip thereof; and *Hen.* 5. and *Hen.* 6. occupied the ſaid Realm by Unrighteous Intruſion, and Uſurpation, and no otherwiſe.

§. 15. *And in* 39 Hen. 6. Rot. Parl. *when* Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of* York, *laid Claim to the Crown, as belonging to him by Right of Succeſſion, it was*

§. 16. 1. *Objected in behalf of* Hen. 6. *That* Hen 4. *took the Crown upon him as next Heir in Blood to* Hen. 3. *not as Conqueror.*

§. 17. *To this it was anſwered, That the pretence of Right, as next Heir to* Hen. 3. *was falſe, and only made uſe of as a Cloak to ſhadow the violent Uſurpations of* Hen. 4.

§. 18. 2. *It was objected againſt the Duke of* York, *That the Crown was by Act of Parliament entailed upon* Hen. 4. *and the Heirs of his Body, from whom King* Hen. 6. *did lineally deſcend.* The which Act (*ſay they, as it is in the Record*) is of Authority to defeat any manner of Title. *To which the Duke of* York *replied,* That if *Hen.* 4. might have

have obtained and enjoyed the Crowns of *England* and *France* by Title of Inheritance, Deſcent, or Succeſſion, he neither needed, nor would have deſired, or made them to be granted to him in ſuch wiſe, as they be by the ſaid Act, the which takes no Place, nor is of any Force or Effect againſt him that is right Inheritor of the ſaid Crowns; as it accordeth with God's Laws, and all Natural Laws. *Which Claim and Anſwer of the Duke of* York, *is expreſly acknowledged and recognized by this Parliament to be* Good, True, Juſt, Lawful, and Sufficient. Cotton's *Abridgment*, fol. 665, 666.

§. 19. *From theſe Recognitions it plainly follows,*

1. *That the Succeſſion cannot be interrupted by an Act of Parliament, eſpecially when the Royal Aſſent is given by a King* de Facto, *and not* de Jure.

2. *The Act* 1. *of* Edw. 4. *by declaring the Crown to deſcend upon* Edmund *Earl of* March, *by the deceaſe of* Rich 2. *does evidently imply, That the ſaid* Richard *was rightful King during his Life; and conſequently, That his Depoſition was Null, and Unlawful.*

*If it's demanded, Why His Majeſty did not leave* Seals and Commiſſioners *to ſupply his Abſence? This Queſtion brings me to the ſecond Point;* viz. *to ſhew,*

*That the leaving ſufficient Repreſentatives was impracticable at this juncture: For,*

1. *When the Nation was ſo much embroiled, and the King's Intereſt reduced to ſuch an unfortunate Ebb, it would have been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have found Perſons who would have undertaken ſuch a dangerous Charge. That Man muſt have had a Reſolution of an extraordinary Size, who would venture upon Repreſenting a Prince who had been ſo much diſreſpected in his own Perſon; whoſe Authority had been ſet aſide, and his* Ambaſſador *clapt up at* Windſor, *when he carried not only an inoffenſive, but an obliging Letter. But granting ſuch a Repreſentation had been engaged in; the Commiſſions muſt either have extended to the Calling of Parliaments, or not; if not, they would neither have been Satisfactory, nor abſolutely Neceſſary. Not Satisfactory; for the want of a Parliament was that which was accounted the great Grievance of the Nation, as appears from the Prince of* Orange's Declaration; *where he ſays expreſly,* That his Expedition is intended for no other Deſign, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament aſſembled as ſoon as is poſſible. *Declar.* pag. 12.

§. 21. Secondly, *This Expedient was not abſolutely Neceſſary; for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice might have proceeded Regularly, without any ſuch Deputation, by Virtue of thoſe Commiſſions which the Judges and Juſtices of the Peace had already from the King. This I ſhall prove,*

§. 22. 1. *From a parallel Inſtance; King* Charles *the* I. *took a Journey into* Scotland *in* 41. *during the Seſſion of Parliament at* Weſtminſter; *where, tho he appointed five Lords to ſign Bills in his Name,* (*The Continuation of* Bak. Chron.) *yet the Judges and Juſtices Acted by Virtue of their former Commiſſions, without any new Authority from any Repreſentatives of His Majeſty. Now* Scotland *is as much a diſtinct Kingdom from* England, *as* France; *and* France *as much His Majeſties Dominion as* Scotland: *And therefore if Commiſſions will hold in the King's Abſence in one Place, why not in the other?*

§. 23. Secondly, *The preſent Judges met in* January *laſt at* Weſtminſter, *to diſpatch ſome Buſineſs in order to keep the Term, but were forbidden to proceed by the Prince of* Orange's *Secretary: So that it is plain, it was the Opinion of theſe Reverend Judges, that their Commiſſions from His Majeſty were ſtill in Force. But in the next place,*

§. 24. *If His Majeſty had deputed any Perſons to Repreſent him in Parliament, this Method would have been attended with new and inſuperable Difficulties. For,*

§. 25. 1. *If they had been Limited, they would not have given Satisfaction: For it being impoſſible to foreſee the Buſineſs and Votes of a Parliament at a diſtance; If they had been reſtrained to certain Points, in all probability they would have wanted Power to have paſſed all the Bills, and ſo their Deputation would not have Anſwered the Deſire of the Houſes, and the greateſt part of their Grievances might have* been counted unredreſſed. *If it's ſaid that the Parliament might have requeſted an Enlargement of their Commiſſion from his Majeſty To this I Anſwer, That the Convention may ſend to His Majeſty for an Expedient now, if they pleaſe. And, I hope, they will; for I hear His Majeſty has been ſo gracious as to ſend to them. But,*

2. *If theſe Commiſſioners were unlimited, it would be in their Power to do a great many things prejudicial to the Crown. In ſuch a Caſe they might alter the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, or Sign the Depoſing of his Majeſty, if ſuch Bills ſhould happen to be offered. And tho there may be many Perſons of Honour, and Conſcience enough, to lodg ſuch a Truſt with: Yet in regard His Majeſty has been lately miſtaken in ſome, of whoſe Fidelity he had ſo great an Aſſurance, he has ſmall Encouragement*

to

*to be over-confiding for the Future. Indeed no Wiſe Prince will Truſt ſo vaſt a Concern, as a Kingdom, with the Honeſty of another, eſpecially when many of his Subjects are diſaffected, and in a Ferment. So that nothing can be more unreaſonable than to expect ſuch Plenipotentiary and Abſolute Commiſſioners.*

§. 26. 3. *I ſhall prove in the laſt place, That we have no Grounds, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from thoſe of Nature, to pronounce the Throne void, upon ſuch a Retreat of a Prince, as we have before us.*

1. *To begin with the Laws of the Realm, which are either Acts of Parliament, or thoſe we call Common Laws. Now there is no Statute, ſo much as pretended, to ſupport this Deſerting Doctrine; and if there was, it's certain no ſuch can be produced. Indeed a Prince muſt be very weary of Governing, and void of the common Inclinations of Mankind, who would ſign a Bill of this Nature, and give his Subjects ſuch a dangerous Advantage againſt himſelf, and his Poſterity.*

*Neither has this Opinion any better Countenance from Common Law: For Common Law is nothing but Ancient Uſage, and Immemorial Cuſtom. Now Cuſtom ſuppoſes Precedents and Parallel Caſes: But it's granted of all Hands, That the Crown of* England *was never judged to be Demiſed, by the withdrawing of the Prince, before now. And, therefore it follows, by undeniable Conſequence, that this Opinion can have no Foundation in the Common Law, becauſe there is not ſo much as one Ruled Caſe to prove it by. Nay, our Laws are not only ſilent in the maintenance of this Paradox, but againſt it, as I ſhall make good by two Precedents.*

§. 27. 1. *From the Caſe of* Edward *the* IV. *who having not ſufficient Force to Encounter the Earl of* Warwick, *who had raiſed an Army for King* Henry, *was obliged to fly the Kingdom; but that he deputed any Perſons to Repreſent him, our Hiſtories don't give us the leaſt Intimation. Neither was it objected at his return, that he had Abdicated the Government, by omitting to Conſtitute a Regent. Neither is it material to Object, that all Diſputes of this Nature were over-ruled by his Victorious Army: For if it had been the known Law of this Realm, that a Prince had* ipſo facto *forfeited his Crown by going beyond Sea, without leaving a Deputation, tho his Departure ſhould happen to be Involuntary: If this, I ſay, had been the Law of the Kingdom, it would not only have been a great advantage to* Henry *the* VI. *and made the Nation ring of it, (of which there is* altum Silentium;) *but we may be well aſſured, King* Edward *would not have conferr'd Honour, worn the Crown, and taken the State and Authority of the*

*the King upon him, till he had been Re-eſtabliſhed by Parliaments. But that he did Exerciſe all Acts of Soveraignty before the calling of a Parliament, appears from* Daniel, Stow, *and* Baker: *And when the Parliament was Convened, thoſe who had taken up Arms againſt him, were found Guilty of Treaſon, and his Adherents were reſtored to Blood and Eſtate* (Daniel.) *But there was no Confirmation, or Reſettling of his Title, which is a Demonſtration there was no need of it; and that this Abdicating Doctrine was perfectly unknown to that Age.*

§. 28. 2. *To come nearer our own Times, what Seals or Commiſſioners did* Charles *the II. leave behind him after* Worceſter Fight? *And yet, I believe, no Mortal ever urged this as an Argument againſt his Reſtauration. If it be anſwered. That there was much more danger in this caſe, than in that before us. To this I reply, That if we Examine the matter more narrowly, we ſhall find the diſparity very inconſiderable. For was there not a numerous Army of Foreigners and Subjects in the Field, againſt his preſent Majeſty at his retiring? What Power or Authority, or ſo much as Liberty was there left him? And I am afraid that at that time he had fewer Friends to ſtand by him, than his Brother after that unfortunate Battel in* 51.

§. 29. *And ſince this pretended Dereliction has no manner of Protection from the Conſtitution, it has no other refuge but the Laws of Nature to fly to; but a very little Storming will ſerve to drive it from this laſt Retrenchment.*

§. 30. *For the Law of Nature is nothing but the Reaſon of the Thing. Now impartial Reaſon has always a regard to the Circumſtances of Action, and makes Allowances for Surpriſe, for Straitneſs of Time, for Reſentment upon extraordinary provocation; and never takes advantage of an Omiſſion, which may be fairly Interpreted, from any or all of theſe Cauſes. I mention this, not that the preſent Caſe needs any ſuch Allowance, but to ſhew that the Law of Nature would admit it, if Occaſion required. 'Tis true, written Laws, either through the ambiguity of the Words, or the defectiveneſs of the Senſe, are often abuſed by ill Men, and wreſted contrary to the Deſign of the Legiſlators: But the Law of Nature is not tied up to the Alphabet, nor bound to determine by the Imperfections of former Ages. Therefore this Principle will give the Enquirer no juſt Advantages againſt His Majeſty; for Equity has no Quirks in it, nor ever lies at Catch. Reaſon is always Juſt and Generous, it never makes Misfortune an Accuſation, nor judges in favour of Violence. Indeed, what can be more Unrighteous (though the Caſe was private and inferior) than that any one ſhould Suffer for being Injured, and be barred his Right for the Faults of others? If a Man ſhould forfeit his Houſe to thoſe who ſet it on Fire, only becauſe he quitted it without*

giving

*giving ſome formal Directions to the Servants; and be obliged to loſe his Eſtate, for endeavouring to preſerve his Life; I believe it would be thought an incomprehenſible ſort of Juſtice. If to proceed in this manner be not to eſtabliſh wickedneſs by a Law, I have done. If Princes may be thus roughly treated, their Birth is a Misfortune to them; and, we may ſay, they are Crown'd rather for Sacrifice than Empire. At this rate, the People muſt e'en Govern themſelves, for the Throne will be a Place of too much Danger to ſit on any longer. We have an Excellent Church, and we do well to take due Care to continue its Eſtabliſhment; but to diſpoſſeſs our Prince, upon this Score, has as little Divinity as Law in it. To endeavour to preſerve our Religion by ſuch Methods, will make it more Fatal to us in the event, than Atheiſm it ſelf. 'Tis a miſtake to think the World was made for none but Proteſtants; and if Dominion was founded in Grace, I am afraid our ſhare would not be great in the Diviſion.*

§. 31. *If it is objected, That His Majeſty's not ſending to his People upon his Removal, is an Argument that he intended to govern them no longer. To this I anſwer,*

1. *That I am pretty well aſſured, That no Man, who makes this Objection, believes the truth of it; and therefore I might ſafely leave it to his own Conſcience to confute him.*

2. *His Majeſty was ſcarcely Landed in* France *before the Adminiſtration was conferred upon the Prince of* Orange; *which Action might very well diſcourage His Majeſty from ſending any Meſſages ſo ſoon as he intended: but ſince, it's known, His Majeſty has ſent Letters (if not to the Privy Council, as ſome affirm, yet) to the Convention.*

§. 33. Thirdly, *Thoſe who were the Occaſion of His Majeſty's Departure ſhould (one would think) have waited on him, and invited him back.* "*For without Queſtion, the injuring Perſon ought to make the firſt ſtep to-*" *wards an Accommodation, eſpecially when the Wrong is done to his own* "*Prince. Now whether His Majeſty has been well uſed in this Revolution, or not, I leave the World to judge now, but God will do it afterwards.*

*Thus* (SIR) *I have ventured to give you my Thoughts upon this Subject; and am*

Affectionately Yours,

AN

# AN ANSWER TO The DESERTION Diſcuſs'd.

HAving thus as truly and as ſhortly as I can from the Papers I have collected, ſtated the matter of Fact, without which it is impoſſible to paſs any Judgment upon the Merits of the Caſe: I come now in the next place to conſider the ſmall Piece which has neceſſitated me to take all this pains.

The Author of it is my Acquaintance, and a Perſon for whom I have a great Eſteem, both on the account of his Profeſſion, and of his perſonal Worth, Learning and Sobriety; ſo that I cannot believe he had any ill deſign either in the Writing or Publiſhing of it; his Zeal for the Church of *England*'s Loyalty, and the difficulty and unuſualneſs of the preſent Caſe, having been the Occaſions, if not the Cauſes of his miſtake; and therefore I will endeavour to ſhew Him and the World his Error, with as much candor and ſweetneſs as he himſelf can wiſh, becauſe I have the ſame deſign for the main that he had, *viz.* the Honour of the Church of *England*, and the Safety of Government, and eſpecially our Monarchy.

It begins thus: *Sir, I don't wonder to find a perſon of your ſenſe and integrity ſo much ſurprized at the report of the Thrones being declared* Vacant, *by the Lower Houſe of the Convention:* for how (ſay you) can the Seat of the Government be empty, whilſt the King, who all grant had an unqueſtionable Title, is ſtill living, and *his abſence forced and involuntary*? I thought our Laws, as well as our Religion, had been againſt the Depoſing Doctrine; therefore I deſire you would expound this State-Riddle to me, and give me the Grounds of this late extraordinary Revolution. *Sect.* 1. In Anſwer to which, he tells his Countrey-Gentleman, That the Gentlemen of the Lower Houſe of Convention lay the main ſtreſs of their Opinion upon His Majeſty's withdrawing himſelf, *&c.*

Now,

Now, that the King was *de facto* gone, is not to be diſputed; but the Queſtion is, Whether his abſence was truly forced and involuntary, or no; and by whom he was forced? Our Author is for the Affirmative, and afterwards propoſeth his Reaſons, which I ſhall examine: And this Queſtion being well ſtated, the buſineſs of the Depoſing Doctrine will appear nothing to the purpoſe.

Now before our Author could regularly enter upon this Queſtion, he ought firſt to have conſidered what the Cauſes of this Force was, and what had been done by the King on his Part; and then have come to the other, Whether the abſenting himſelf was a *Fault*, or a *Misfortune?*

So that to begin at the right end of the queſtion, we muſt enquire, What were the Cauſes of this Revolution? Who were the Parties concern'd? How things were managed on both ſides? And then come in the laſt place to the Queſtion he begins with.

Now, *Sir*, are the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, and the Biſhops Ten Propoſals, as to the things complained of, true or falſe? Are they juſtifiable or not, by the Laws of *England?* For if the King had done nothing which he could not fairly juſtifie, his *Title was unqueſtionable*; and therefore he ought not to have been diſturbed either by his own Subjects, or his Neighbours, during his life. But then, *Sir*, I think he had no right to govern us as he did; and he had as little reaſon to expect (whatever we did) that his Neighbours would ſit ſtill, and ſuffer him to do what he pleaſed to Them and Us, to the Ruin of *Europe*.

*The King of* England, ſaith the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration, *hath given the greateſt credit to thoſe Counſellors who have overturned the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his Realms; and ſubjected them in all things relating to their Conſciences, Liberties, and Properties, to Arbitrary Government; and that not only by ſecret and indirect ways, but in open and undiſguiſed manner*, §. 2. Pag. 10. §. 17. he informs us, *That both He and his deareſt and moſt entirely beloved Conſort the Princeſs, have indeavoured to ſignifie in terms full of Reſpect to the King, the juſt and deep regret which all theſe Proceedings have given us*, &c. *But thoſe evil Counſellors have put ſuch ill Conſtructions on theſe our good Intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us, as if we had deſigned to diſturb the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom.* Sect. 19. *To crown all, there are great and violent preſumptions inducing us to believe, that theſe evil Counſellors, in order to the carrying on their ill Deſigns, and to the gaining to themſelves the more time for the effecting of them, for the*

*encouraging of their Complices, and for the discouraging of all good Subjects,* (They) *have published, That the Queen hath brought forth a Son, tho there have appeared, both during the Queens pretended Bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we our selves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queens Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfie them, or to put an end to their Doubts.*

Things being in this state, *he resolved to go over to* England, (Sect. 21.) *and to carry with him sufficient Force to defend him from the Violence of those evil Counsellors.* And then he declares, That this Expedition was intended for no other design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament assembled as soon as is possible. (Sect. 25.) *To the end that all the Violences and Disorders which have overturned the whole Constitution of the* English *Government, may be fully redressed in a Free and Legal Parliament; to which he would also refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession.*

Now if all this is true, (which no *English* man can deny) then had the Prince of *Orange* the justest Cause that ever Man had to do what he did; and the King of *England* was bound in Justice to have summoned a Parliament, and to have referr'd the things in question to them, there being no other competent Judge on Earth of the things in dispute; but if he would not suffer a Parliament to meet, then the Sword must determine the Question between them; for they were both Sovereign Princes, and had no Superiour over them to decide it. The King accordingly referr'd it to the Sword; for he refused to the last to suffer a Parliament to meet till the Invasion was over; and the Prince had no reason to take his word for it.

The Protestants of *England* had no reason to fight against this Prince, who came to right their Cause, and offered to refer all to a Parliament of *English* Nobility and Gentry; and the Papists alone were not able to resist the Prince's Army, especially after many of the King's Army were gone over to the Prince: So that the King was at last forced to call a Parliament in the manner I have set forth, and he promised both the Nation and the Prince the Parliament should meet and act freely; but before this was possible to be brought about,

about, without any cauſe given or alledged, he disbanded his Army, ſent away the Queen, the Child, and the Seals, and then followed them himſelf, leaving the Nation in Anarchy and Confuſion. *Now I will refer this to the World, whether this abſence was not voluntary, unforced, and criminal, after he had thus paſſed his word?*

For ſuppoſing he had ſtayed on the Prince's Terms, and the Parliament had met, no Act could have paſſed without his own conſent; and if any thing had been required that had not been juſt and legal, if then he had withdrawn, his caſe would have been more juſtifiable, and perhaps he ſhould have found enough to have defended it, and ſo needed not to have withdrawn.

The Story of the *French League*, and the *Prince of Wales*, are not paſſed ſo over (though they are poſtponed) but we may hear more of them in due time; tho when all is done, there will be no reaſon to expect that all the Prate of this populous Town ſhould be proved to be true; it will be ſufficient if his now Majeſty juſtify his own Publick Declaration, which I believe no man doubts but he can, and has done, the Three Eſtates having in their *Declaration* ſubſcribed to the truth of all the main parts of his.

The King being thus gone, ſome way or other muſt be taken to bring us again to a Settlement, and that of a *Convention* of the Three Eſtates was taken as leaſt liable to Exception and Miſtake; but then he tells us, *Sect.* 2. That *the Neceſſity* alledged for their Juſtification, *is either of their own making, or of their own ſubmitting to, which is the ſame thing; and therefore ought not to be pleaded in Juſtification of their Proceedings.* Now this is not true: The King would never have left his People, if he had not firſt loſt their Hearts by the things charged upon his Counſellors; nor then neither, if he had not firſt reſolved never to do them right againſt thoſe Counſellors, becauſe he had reaſon to believe this would have ſatisfied them; ſo that his late Majeſty was *not driven out of his Dominions* by his Enemies (as he ſtiled them) but by his pretended Friends, who put him upon doing ill things, and then would not ſuffer him to Redreſs them.

Well, but *If he had been invited back upon Honourable Terms, they needed not have had recourſe to theſe ſingular Methods.*

Why, how does he know that? The King had Honourable Terms offered him before he went, and they would not ſtop him from going; and if they had ſent more Honourable Terms after him, who can tell whether he would have accepted, or have ſtood to them?

He had passed his Word before, That a Parliament should meet, yet he burnt the Writs and withdrew.

Well, but however our Author is resolved the late King's withdrawing *himself, is no resigning of his Crown, or discharging of his Subjects of their Allegiance.* In order to which he undertakes to shew, 1. That *his late Majesty before his withdrawing, had sufficient Grounds to make him apprehensive of danger, and therefore it cannot be call'd an Abdication.* 2. *That the leaving any Representative behind him, was impracticable at this juncture.* But there are two other things which he has not mentioned, the first of which is, Who gave the occasion of these Dangers which he apprehended? And the Second, Whether he had no other way to avoid those Dangers, but by withdrawing? Now it is plain that the ill courses taken under his Government had brought upon him those Dangers; and that if he would have suffered a Parliament to meet, he needed not to have withdrawn; and consequently his going away, rather than submitting the things in dispute to a Parliament, was a *voluntary Abdication.*

*Sect.* 4. Our Author has a scruple, whether the King's going away signifies any thing to *Scotland* and *Ireland*; now all this is no better than *banter*, for when he left *England*, he left them too, though the one was for some time, and the other still is under the *Regular Administration* of *the Lord Lieutenant*, as he tells us; but those that have since come from thence, assure us, there is nothing Regular in his Administration, but the British Protestants are treated as Enemies by this Minister of his; so that *Ireland* being an Appendage of *England*, and thus treating our Brethren, ought by us to be taken for a Rebel and an Enemy, let the pretence be what it will; Their Loyalty to the Late King not excusing, but aggravating their Injuries to his Countrymen, who have done nothing to deserve this usage, but it is to be hoped will find hands enough to revenge it in due time.

Our Author in the 5th *Section* is to prove, the Late King had sufficient Grounds, *&c.* omitting his Rhetorick, *Had not His Majesty* (saith he) *great Reason to Retire to secure his Person and Honour, at his first withdrawing from* Whitehall? *When he had met with so many unfortunate disappointments, with so many surprizing and unparallel'd Accidents?* &c. —— I say no, he ought to have considered what was the Cause of all these Misfortunes, and to have applied himself with so much the more Industry to the quieting of his People, which the sitting of the Parliament would in all probability have effected. But what could he promise himself by withdrawing, but the bare saving of his

Life and Liberty, with the loſs of his Crown; now his Life and Liberty were in no Danger, as is plain; for after, he was brought back a Priſoner, and ſuffered to go away again without any hinderance. There are many indiſcreet things ſaid in this Paragraph, which I could eaſily expoſe, but I would not make this Anſwer too long, nor exaſperate any body againſt the Author, and therefore I will paſs them over.

*To be obliged* (ſaith he) *to pay a Foreign Army which came over to enable his Subjects to drive him out of his Dominions, looked as if there was a deſign to reduce him as low in his Honour, as in his Fortune.* The Prince ſaith in his Declaration, *Sect.* 21. *That he intended nothing but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Aſſembled as ſoon as was poſſible.* And this might have been done without driving the King out of his Kingdom; and it is very difficult to imagine how he could at firſt propoſe more to himſelf, nor would it have been any diminution of the King's Honour to have paid the *Dutch* Army a few Weeks or Months, till things could have been ſetled.

*When the Forts and Revenues were thus diſpoſed of, when the Papiſts were to be diſbanded, and the Proteſtants could not be truſted; When the Nation was under ſuch violent and general diſſatisfactions; When the King, in caſe of a Rupture (which was not unlikely) had nothing but his ſingle Perſon to oppoſe againſt the Prince's Arms, and thoſe of his own Subjects.* —Well, what then? Why, it was time to be gone. No, Sir, it was time to be better Adviſed than he had been, by thoſe that had brought him into this deplorable State. It was time to deſpair of ever being able to ſet up Popery and an Arbitrary Power in *England*, to have reflected on the breach of his former Promiſes and Oaths which had ſo Exaſperated his Subjects againſt him, but by other meaſures might very eaſily have been again appeaſed, and deſerved after all rather to be truſted, than thoſe Popiſh Souldiers he was ſo fond of to his Ruine, becauſe he had formerly had ſufficient Experience of their Loyalty, till he had made it impoſſible for them to ſerve him, without deſtroying their Religion, and their Civil Liberties.

*When his Mortal Enemies, and thoſe who were under the higheſt forfeitures to his Majeſty, were to ſit Judges of his Crown and Dignity, if no further,* &c. The Power of an heated Imagination! Why after all, theſe were the Three Eſtates of *England* whom he thus blackens, or a part of them, or rather the Church of *England* Nobility and Gentry, the ſame men that were choſen, and for the moſt part muſt be choſen

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again if we were to chooſe to morrow as to the Lower Houſe; and as to the Upper, the Biſhops and the Peers always are and muſt be the ſame: Nor were they to ſit Judges of his Crown and Dignity (for they muſt have Sworn Allegiance to him again at their Meeting) much leſs of his Life and Liberty; but only of his former Actions, his Miniſters, and of the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. And he had Reaſon to have expected great Candor from them, having had ſo great Experience of them before. When a Gentleman of the Church of *England* could thus *harangue* it againſt his own Party and Intereſt, we need not wonder if that Unfortunate Prince found ſome *Jeſuits* about him, who would perſuade him rather to abandon his Crown, Kingdom and People, than the Glorious deſign of forcing *England* once more to ſubmit to the yoke of *Rome*.

*Section 6.* Our Author is at a loſs to find the Reaſon, why his coming from *Feverſham* to *White-hall* is not allowed to be a return to his people; now if he pleaſe to look into the former Hiſtory, he will find it was not voluntary, but forced (tho he was not then known), and in all probability the fear continued upon him when the force was removed; for then he ſaw he could not go away without the Prince's leave, and that was the true reaſon of his inviting the Prince to *London*, when he could not keep him out if he would. *Pray what had the King done to incur a Forfeiture by his firſt retirement, had he quitted the Realm?* Yes, he had, and the Government too, and neceſſitated his own Menial Servants to ſubmit to the *Prince*, by the Famous Addreſs made at *Guild-hall* the *11th* of *December*. So that the Prince was now actually inveſted with the Government, the whole Nation having ſubmitted to him; and it was at his choice whether he would treat him as a King now; nor had he any great reaſon to do ſo, conſidering how lately he had broke his word to him and the Nation.

*His return, after ſome aſſurance of Fair Treatment, is a plain Diſcovery of the Motives of his withdrawing, and of his intention to Govern.* Had it been purely Voluntary, I would have allowed the Conſequence; but when he did, and ſaid all that he could to have got out of the hands of the *Feverſham* men without diſcovering himſelf, and was at laſt brought up a Priſoner, and diſcovered by thoſe who knew him after he was Landed; for him, after all this, to return to *White-Hall*, is no Argument of his intention to ſtay and Govern us. But admit it were, What proof did he give that he would change his Mea-

Meaſures? Was not *White-Hall* crowded with *Iriſh* and *Engliſh Roman Catholicks* as before? Was there any one ſtep towards the Satisfying of his Proteſtant Subjects of his better Intentions towards them? The only Order of Council he made after his return, was apparently in favour of the Papiſts; ſo that by that, we may gueſs what would have followed. The reſt of the Paragraph is either miſtimed, miſtaken, or nothing to the purpoſe; for I will grant him, His Late Majeſty had ſome cauſe, as well as free leave, to withdraw the ſecond time.

So that after all, I conclude juſt contrary to my Author, The firſt withdrawing was cauſeleſs, and therefore Voluntary; and therefore in his own Notion an *Abdication*.

From the 8th *Section* to the 20th *Section*, is ſpent in a Controverſy with the Author of the *Preſent State of Affairs*, about the *Abdication* or *Depoſing* of *Richard* II. And *Edward* II. and as I am no Friend to the Depoſing *Doctrine* in General, nor have any good Opinion of thoſe Actions in particular, nor thoſe Books by me now, which are abſolutely neceſſary to the Diſcuſſing thoſe Queſtions, I ſhall leave the aforeſaid Author to make his own defence if he pleaſe, and go to his 20th *Section*, where he propoſeth this Queſtion;

*If it's Demanded, Why His Majeſty did not leave Seals and Commiſſioners to ſupply his Abſence? It was impracticable at this Juncture.*

Now if this Anſwer is true; then it follows, That it was impoſſible his late Majeſty ſhould reign any longer: for if he would not Govern us himſelf, and either would not, or could not find any other perſon or perſons to ſupply his place, and this was brought upon him by his own Act, then was his Government and Right at an end: Government ſuppoſeth a Governour and Perſons Governed; if one of them fail, the other fails too, and the blame falls on the party that gives the cauſe.

Nor was it poſſible for us to continue in a ſtate of *Anarchy*, however it was brought upon us; but after he was gone, it was abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould ſet up another in his place, or run into Confuſion, and a ſtate of War. And when we had once taken this care for our ſelves, conſidering how ill we had been uſed, it was very probable we ſhould not be very willing to return again under his power, and therefore His late Majeſty ought to have continued his Poſt, what Difficulties ſoever he had ſtruggled with, even to the hazard of his *Life* and *Liberty*; or if he abandon'd his people, to have expected that they would take care to provide for themſelves

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as they did, which was to put his *Antagonist* in the actual Possession of the Government, for we could then much less than he, find any other person or persons to set up. But let us hear his Reasons.

*When the Nation was so much imbroiled, and the King's Interest reduced to such an unfortunate Ebb; It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to have found persons who would have undertaken such a dangerous Charge.* Now this must be understood of his first withdrawing, tho' he confounds it with the second; for then I will grant it was, not only difficult, but impossible. But when he went first from *White-Hall*, doubtless this was well considered, and it would put an end to all our disputes, if we knew the true Reasons which were then alledged for his going. The three Lords which were sent to treat with the *Prince*, are said to have returned his Answer the Evening before the King went away, by an Express; but it is Notorious he resolved to go before the *Queen* went, and the next *Paris Gazett* told us he was expected every Tide in *France*; so that it was no secret there: So that whatsoever Answer the *Prince* made, he was resolved to be gone. Yet he had promised the Nation and the *Prince* there should be a *Free Parliament*. Now if the Nation was already so *Imbroiled, and the King's Interest at so low an Ebb*, his going away must needs reduce his Kingdoms and Affairs into a much worse Estate. The result of all which is, That having well considered all things, he at last resolved, rather than suffer a *Parliament* to meet, and determine the differences between him and his People, and the *Prince* of *Orange*, he would abandon his People, when no body durst undertake to supply his place, by reason of the difficulties: And this is a real and true *Abdication*. For I will suppose after all, That it was absolutely necessary that a Parliament should meet, and that we must have been absolutely ruined one way or other if one had not met; for if *James* the II. could have resetled himself without one then, it is past all Controversy, he would after that never have suffered one to meet and act freely, who would abandon his Kingdom, rather than suffer a Parliament in this Extremity, when he had no other way to save himself. And after he was gone, nothing but a Meeting of the three Estates could have sufficient Authority to Re-establish our shattered Government, and settle the Nation.

*But* (saith my Author) *granting such a representation had been engaged in, The Commissions must either have extended to the calling of a Parliament, or not; if not, they would neither have been satisfactory, nor ab-*

*abſolutely neceſſary: Not ſatisfactory, for the want of a Parliament was that which was accounted the great Grievance of the Nation, as appears from the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration, where he ſays expreſly,* That his Expedition is intended for no other deſign, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament aſſembled as ſoon as was poſſible.

Now here our Gentleman leaves us in the dark, without telling us what he thought: But, §. 25. he reaſſumes it, and ſhews, *That if the Commiſſioners were limited, the greateſt part of the Grievances might have been counted unredreſs'd; if unlimited, it would be* in their power *to do a great many things prejudicial to the Crown.—— And His Majeſty having been lately miſtaken in ſome, of whoſe Fidelity he had had ſo great an aſſurance, he has ſmall encouragement to be over-confiding for the future*: That is, it is fit he ſhould truſt no body ſo far. Now I think I have ſufficiently proved, that we were in ſuch Circumſtances, that if we had not had a Parliament, we had been certainly ruined; and therefore any Deputation, without a Commiſſion to hold a Parliament, would have ſignified nothing; and a Commiſſion that had not extended to all thoſe Grievances which the Majority of the Three Eſtates ſhould have judged neceſſary to be redreſs'd, would have ſignified as little: So that whatever the Difficulties or Diſtruſts of the King were at that time, he ſaw he muſt yield the Point, after he had ſtrugled as long as was poſſible: And now, when he had paſſed his Word, it was too late to revoke it; and therefore there was That neceſſity added to the Other of holding one. Now, *Sir*, if We had yielded this Point, there had been an end of the *Engliſh* Liberties for ever: If He had yielded it, what inconvenience would have followed, which did not certainly attend his Deſertion of us? but if he had ſtaid, he might in all probability have ſaved his main Stake, and have regained the Affections of his People again, and ſo have ended his days in Honour and Peace in his own Palace, and amongſt his good Subjects: At leaſt there was ſo great a probability of all this, that no Man but He, would have taken the other way; nor He neither, if he had ſuffered this Queſtion to have been debated in his Privy-Council, and had heard what all ſides could have ſaid for it.

*Sect.* 21. He tells us, *This Expedient* (the appointing of a Repreſentative) *was not abſolutely neceſſary; for the adminiſtration of Juſtice might have proceeded regularly without any ſuch Deputation, by virtue of thoſe Commiſſions which the Judges and Juſtices of the Peace had already from the King.* So that here was no need of Seals or Commiſſioners, tho the Nation was embroiled to that height, that no body durſt have

undertaken this dangerous Charge, as he tells us the Section before, and the King was gone. Thus Men lose themselves, when they meddle with what they do not understand. The Tumults which arose that very day in *London*, and spread themselves (with the News of the King's withdrawing) all over the Nation, do sufficiently confute this airy Notion. And at this time both the Judges and Justices of the Peace were at almost as low an Ebb of Authority and Credit with the People, as their Master, by reason of the many unqualified Men which had been employed, and the things they had done contrary to Law. He could not but know how the late Lord Chancellor, Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, and many others, were treated by the People; and yet he tells us, *The administration of Justice might have proceeded regularly:* Yes, we might have lived without any King, Magistrates, or Execution of Justice at all, if all Men would have been quiet, and minded their own business.

*Section* 22. We have a whimsey of a Journey of *Charles* the First into *Scotland*, and *that five Lords were appointed by him to sign Bills in his Name, but the Judges and Justices acted by virtue of their former Commissions, without any new Authority from those Representatives of His Majesty.* Now, to what end is all this? Why to prove, That Commissions will hold, tho the King is absent. Who ever doubted this? for without this had been allowed, he could have had no Representative. But I thought he would have given us an Instance of a King that had stole out of his Kingdom, and had left no body to have supplied his place, (which *Charles* the First did;) and yet, after he was gone no body knew whither, to return no body knew when, his People had been governed by his Judges and Justices of the Peace; and then this should have been an Example for *England*.

*Henry* the Third of *France* was first King of *Poland*; and hearing of his Brother's Death, stole away, without leaving any Deputy: But then the Kingdom of *Poland* call'd a Dyet, and judged it an *Abdication*, and proceeded to the Election of a New King, as if he had been dead. The Instances of this nature must be very rare: but who ever heard of a Prince that withdrew himself from his People, or was forced away, and yet no body was put in his place? Certainly *James* the Second foresaw what would follow, and in some sort consented to it, rather than to the sitting of a Parliament.

§. 26. He undertakes to prove in the last place, *That we have no Grounds, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from those of Nature, to pronounce*

*pronounce the Throne void, upon ſuch a Retreat of a Prince as we have before us.* This is bold, and very peremptory, conſidering there had then a Vote paſſed for it in the Lower Houſe of the Convention, and that this Gentleman is a Clergy-man, and knows very little of the Laws of *England*.

*There is* (ſaid he) *no Statute ſo much as pretended to ſupport this Deſerting Doctrine:* He might have better called it, This Right of providing for our ſelves, when we had no body to take care of us. There is no Statute to enable us to meet and chuſe a New King, if the whole Royal Line ſhould happen to be extinct; yet this may very probably happen at one time or another. What! ſhall we therefore continue in a ſtate of *Anarchy* for ever?

*Neither has it any foundation in Common Law; for Common Law is nothing but Ancient Uſage, and Immemorial Cuſtom. Now Cuſtom ſuppoſeth Precedents and parallel Caſes; but it is granted on all hands, that the Crown of* England *was never judged to be Deſerted by the withdrawing of the Prince before.* Such a withdrawing as this, I believe, never happened in *England* before, nor ever will again; and it is ſtupendiouſly wonderful that it happened now. There was nothing asked of the King, but what he ought to have granted freely; *(viz.)* the Calling of a Free and Lawful Parliament, which he ſaid he was reſolved to have had, tho the Prince had not entred *England*; and ſo ſoon as he was retired, he would hold ſuch a Parliament: Then he came further, and promiſed to hold a Parliament the 15th of *January*, and ſent three Noblemen to the Prince to adjuſt the Preliminaries, who had as good an Anſwer as they could expect: But before it was poſſible the late King ſhould know what it would be, whilſt all Men reſted ſecure under the expectation of that Meeting, the King, for Reaſons wholly unknown to us, burns the Writs, ſends away the Seals, withdraws Himſelf, and diſbands his Army. Now, if he can find a Caſe parallel to this in the Hiſtory of the whole World, *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo.*

*Nay,* ſaith he, *our Laws are not only ſilent in the maintenance of this Paradox, but againſt it, as I ſhall make good by two Inſtances.* The firſt of theſe is that of *Edward* the Fourth, who was forced to fly, without leaving any Repreſentative; yet returned, and regained the Crown. King *Edward* was ſurprized, under pretence of a Treaty, and ſent Priſoner to *Warwick* Caſtle, and made his eſcape out of Cuſtody. After this, *Henry* the Sixth was again Crowned, and *Edward* the Fourth declared a Traytor in Parliament, and an Uſurper

of the Crown, and all his Estate confiscated; and the like Judgment passed against all his Adherents, and all the Statutes made by him were revoked. After this, *Edward* the Fourth returned into *England*, and pretending to lay aside all Claim to the Crown, and only to seek the Recovery of his Lands which belonged to him as Duke of *York*, which he confirmed to the Men of *York* by his Oath: Being thus received in the North, he won over his Brother *Clarence*, and hasted to *London*; and there he took poor King *Henry* his Prisoner again, and in a Battel slew the Earl of *Warwick*, who came to rescue King *Henry*; and in another Battel defeated *Margaret*, the Wife of *Henry* the Sixth; took, and in cold blood murdered Prince *Edward*, the eldest Son of *Henry* the Sixth, and not long after *Henry* the Sixth himself.

Now what saith our Letter-man to all this? *If it had been a known Law of* England, *that a Prince had* ipso facto *forfeited his Crown by going beyond Sea, without leaving a Deputation, tho his departure should happen to be involuntary, it would have been a great Advantage to* Henry *the Sixth.* Yes, doubtless, his departure did facilitate the Re-Crowning of *Henry* the Sixth; for he was not so well beloved as *Edward* the Fourth was: And it is apparent the Nation swore Allegiance to *Henry* the Sixth *de novo*, for that very cause; for no body then questioned but that *Edward*'s was the better Title, and the Crown was entailed to *Henry* and his Heirs-Male; and for want of such Issue, to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs; and when *Edward* the Fourth after this came up to *London*, every body forsook *Henry* the Sixth, and he was re-taken and imprisoned without any resistance. Now, after two Victories, what wonder was it if *Edward* the Fourth exercised all Acts of Sovereignty, (and Tyranny too) before the calling of a Parliament, and in it restored all his own Party, and attainted King *Henry*'s? He might as well have proved it lawful to Stab and Murder Kings and Princes, and to Swear and Forswear, from the same Story.

His next Instance is the flight of *Charles* the Second from *Worcester*-Fight: Which was nothing to the purpose neither, for that Prince had done nothing to forfeit His Right, and was ready to have done any thing to assure his Subjects of Theirs: But *James* the Second had, as is confessed on all hands, violated the Rights of his Subjects, above any Prince that ever swayed this Sceptre; and would rather throw up the Government, than suffer a Parliament to meet to redress their Grievances: And this was the only reason, why he,

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as our Author ſaith, *Had fewer friends to ſtand by him, than his Brother had after the unfortunate Battel of* Worceſter *in* 1651.

The true Fountain of the Law that is to determine this difficult and rare Caſe, is our Fundamental Conſtitution, and the general Laws and Practiſe of other *Nations* in the like, or ſimular Inſtances. And as there is an *Analogy* of Faith in *Theology*, ſo there is an *Analogy* here too, for thoſe who are ſufficiently qualified to judge by; but then they muſt be no young ſmatterers in Law, Hiſtory, or State-Politicks. Nor was this Queſtion determin'd by ſuch, but by the whole three Eſtates, upon Reaſons altogether unknown (perhaps) to this Gentleman, but which may be ſufficient to ſatisfy all the Princes in Chriſtendom, when they ſhall be laid before them. In the mean time, the Judgment of the States is concluſive to us; and though we know not all the Reaſons they might have, yet we now know enough to acquieſce and be ſatisfied. But then this has been ſo very well laid down, and purſued by the Author of *the Caſe of Allegiance in our preſent Circumſtances conſidered, in a Letter from a Miniſter in the City, to a Miniſter in the Country*; that I will rather refer my Reader to that Book, than tranſcribe it to no purpoſe.

In the 29th *Section* he tells us, the laſt refuge of the Caſe of *Dereliction*, are the Laws of Nature; *but a very little ſtorming will ſerve to drive it from this laſt Retrenchment.* Bold, and like an *Hero*, conſidering whom he engageth with.

*For* (ſaith he) *the Law of Nature is nothing but the reaſon of the thing*, very true. *Now Impartial Reaſon has always a regard to the circumſtances of Action, and makes allowances for Surprize, for ſtreightneſs of time, for reſentment upon Extraordinary Provocation, and never takes Advantage of an Omiſſion which may be fairly Interpreted, from any, or all of theſe Cauſes.* Now though he ſaith *the preſent caſe needs not any ſuch allowances*; Yet I will be ſo fair as to give all theſe Advantages, and put it upon this fair Iſſue.

1. Was not the whole *Engliſh* Conſtitution acknowledged by the Late King to be ſo much in his favour, That he ſaid in his Firſt Speech to the Council, *I have been reported a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that is not the firſt Story that has been made of me. And I ſhall make it my endeavour to preſerve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſhed. I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for* Monarchy, *and the Members of it have ſhewed themſelves good and Loyal Subjects, Therefore I ſhall always take care to defend and ſupport it: I know too, that the Laws of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as*

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*Great a Monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the Just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown; So I shall never invade any Man's Property:* Yet after all this, Look upon nine of the ten *Proposals* made by the Bishops, Look upon the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, Look upon the Declaration made by the Lords and Commons the 12th of *February* last past, and you will soon be satisfied in how many Instances he had violated the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, and sought the Ruine and utter Subversion of this *Loyal, Monarchical* Church of *England.* This conduct lasted to the very moment they knew the *Dutch* preparations were made against him.

2. After this, what could be done or said that was omitted, to obtain a Redress in Parliament? Was there any other way to Secure us, than that of a Parliament? Was this granted before it became impossible to hinder it? And when all mens Eyes were upon this, did he not then Deliberately resolve to defeat our Expectations, and to withdraw and leave us in a State of Anarchy and Confusion? Here was no *Surprize, straightness of time, no just resentment,* except he were angry that we could not contribute to our own Ruine, and enslaving; that we would not cut up our Laws, Liberties and Religion with our Swords, and Sacrifice our *Deliverers* to our *Oppressors.*

3. Nor were these violations only personal Injuries, but they extended to the whole Church and Kingdom, and to the whole Constitution, and every branch of it; nor were they such as would have ended with his Late Majesty's Life, but were to have been intailed upon us, and upon our Posterity for ever, for the Queen might have brought forth every year, at that rate the Pretended Prince of *Wales* his Birth is proved.

*We have* (saith he) *an excellent Church, and we do well to take due care to continue its Establishment; but to dispossess our Prince, upon this score, has as little Divinity as Law in it.* I may answer this in the words of the Apostle, *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A Brother or a Sister is not under bondage in such a case: but God hath called us to peace.* We did not dispossess our Prince, but he deserted us, because we would not give up the Legal Establishment of our Church, and our Civil Liberties to boot.

*To endeavour to preserve our Religion by such methods, will make it more fatal to us in the event, than Atheism it self.*

That is, it were better to renounce the whole Apostles Creed, and every Article of it, than to endeavour to preserve our Religion by a defection

deſection from a Perſecuting Prince. In truth this, is Loyalty with a Vengeance.

*'Tis a miſtake to think the World was made for none but Proteſtants; and if Dominion was founded in Grace, I am afraid our ſhare would not be great in the Diviſion.* As to the firſt of theſe, it is a ſilly inſinuation, and concludes nothing. For though it be true the World was not made for any one ſort of men, yet I may aſſert that part of it which is fallen to my Lot, againſt the Invaſion of the *Jeſuits* and *Roman Catholicks*, who pretend that the whole World ought to be ſubject to the *Vicar* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, and upon that ſcore will ſuffer no body to live in peace by them who will not be ſubject to that old Gentleman and his Emiſſaries. *And if Dominion were founded in Grace*, we of the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be able to maintain our poſſeſſion of what we have, againſt any Religion that ſhould pretend to out us, if we were to be tried by any other Chriſtian Judge but the Infallible Gentleman at *Rome*. When I firſt read theſe two Paſſages, I concluded the piece was written by a *R. C.* but ſome of our own Brethren can ſometimes ſpeak as ill things of us, as the worſt of our Enemies, ſo violent are the tranſports of a Friend when throughly inſenſed.

*If it be objected, That his Majeſty not ſending to his People upon his removal, is an Argument that he intended to Govern them no longer.*

Firſt, *He Anſwers, that the Objector doth not believe it.* In truth, if any body did ever think, or ſay, that he was weary of Reigning, or quitted *England* with a deſign to trouble himſelf no more about it; he muſt be very ignorant of the temper of the Late King, and of the management of Affairs in the laſt Scene of his Government. We were not ſo happy! he was reſolved to be our Maſter, when he was moſt reſolutely bent not to do us that Juſtice which we had ſo much right to; his going to *France*, added to that Expreſſion in his Letter from *Rocheſter*, *Though I have ventured my Life very frankly on ſeveral occaſions for the Good and Honour of my Country, and am as free to do it again* (and which I hope I ſhall yet do, as old as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under) *Yet I think it not convenient to expoſe my ſelf to be ſecured, as not to be at liberty to effect it; and for that reaſon do withdraw my ſelf:* Theſe ſhew clearly he went away with a reſolution to return and make a conqueſt of us, and then we may conjecture at what rate we ſhall be *redeemed from Slavery.*

Secondly,

Secondly, *That his Majesty was scarcely landed in* * France, *before the Administration was conferred upon the Prince of* Orange, *which Action might very well discourage his Majesty from sending any message so soon as he intended: But since, it is known his Majesty has sent Letters* (if not to the Privy Council, as some affirm) *yet to the Convention.*

* The Administration of Affairs was, in truth, conferred on the Prince of *Orange*, the very day the King left *London*; by the *Declaration* made at *Guild-hall*: And all that followed till the 12th of *February*, was but a confirming that first Act, by after Acts.

There was in truth a Letter to the Privy-Council, Two to the Convention of *England*, which I am informed were sealed up in Covers, and never opened; but there has since been a pretended Copy of it Printed and spread about the Town; and another Letter has since that been sent to the Convention of *Scotland*; and they all of them, as far as is known, confirm his resolution of attacquing *England*.

Thirdly, *They that were the occasion of His Majesties Departure, should (one would think) have waited upon him, and invited him back. For without question, the injuring person ought to make the first step towards an Accommodation, especially when wrong is done to a Prince. Now whether His Majesty has been well used in this Revolution, or not, I leave to the World to judge now; but God will do it afterwards.*

The Conclusion will serve me and him indifferently, And therefore I shall add no more but this: The Author of this Letter wrote it in an heat, before things were well understood, or at all determin'd, and therefore deserves much Compassion. Much that I have said in Answer to it, was not known to him; and I am perswaded he himself will now see, and acknowledg too, the weakness of many things which he then Advanced. In short, I design nothing by this Answer, but the Service of Their Majesties, the Peace of *England*, and the Preservation of our Religion, our Laws, and Ancient Government: And could these have been preserved any other ways, the Memory of His Late Majesty should have been still Sacred to me; notwithstanding his Mis-government. Whilst this Piece was preparing to the Press, there was an Answer to his Paper Printed in two Sheets in *Quarto*, wherein the Author has taken notice of some Passages in this Letter, which I thought fit to omit, as not being of any moment, as to the main question depending: And therefore if the Reader is not satisfied without so minute an Answer, he may have recourse to that Paper.

*FINIS.*